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SENSITIVITY TRAINING
uses and abuses

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Stanford-Binet vs. 'Chitlins'

Do you know whom Stagger Lee killed? Or where the Hully Gully came from? Or what a "Blood" is? Or who was nicknamed "Bird"? If you can't answer these questions you might fail the "Chitlins Test." This test was designed a few years ago by a Negro sociologist to demonstrate the problems blacks face in taking tests that reflect a white, middle class culture.

Today there is little dispute that cultural factors do influence test scores. But many employers still use standard intelligence and aptitude tests to screen prospective employees. Often the disadvantaged find these tests an insurmountable obstacle to obtaining a decent job. So for the past several years Manpower Administration projects have experimented with a variety of techniques to help the disadvantaged cope with the unfamiliar and often frightening world of tests. What methods have proved most useful—and their limitations—are discussed in *Preparing the Disadvantaged for Tests* in this issue of MANPOWER.

Another article, *From Reject to Recruit,* tells how brief, intensive coaching helped more than 1,000 youngsters pass the written test required for enlistment in the armed services. All had failed the test once after volunteering for the military.

Incidentally, Stagger Lee killed Billy; the Hully Gully originated in Watts; a "Blood" is a Negro; and jazz musician Charlie Parker was called "Bird."

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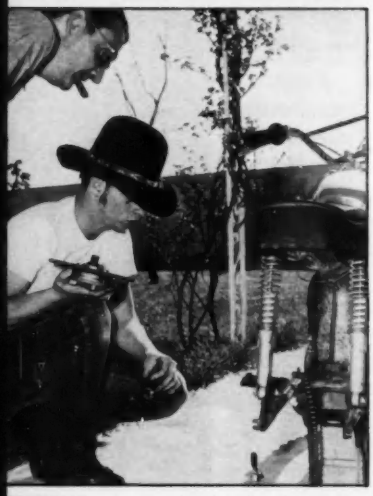

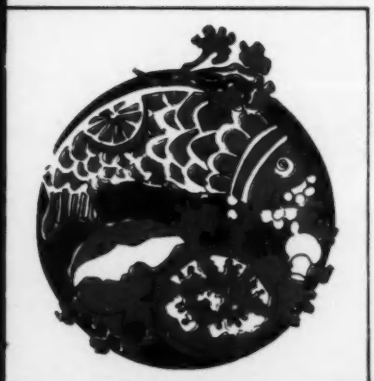

Articles

2 **SENSITIVITY TRAINING: USES AND ABUSES**
Robert Schrank and Susan Stein

8 **FROM REJECT TO RECRUIT**
John E. Moran

11 **GETTING CINDERELLA TO THE BALL**

14 **JOB BROKER FOR THE POOR**

20 **HE GIVES A DAMN**
Marty Morgan

24 **PREPARING THE DISADVANTAGED FOR TESTS**
Joseph Seiler

29 **FEAST FEEDS TWO HUNGERS**

Departments

27 **NEWS & NOTES**

28 **STATISTICS**

32 **PUBLICATIONS**

George P. Shultz, Secretary of Labor
Arnold R. Weber, Assistant Secretary for Manpower
Malcolm R. Lovell, Jr., Deputy Assistant Secretary for Manpower and Manpower Administrator

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SENSITIVITY TRAINING
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By Robert Schrank and Susan Stein

In recent years, T-groups, encounter sessions, laboratory education, and similar techniques popularly known as sensitivity training have gained widespread acceptance as methods of improving individual and organizational performance. Projects ranging from assistance to the hard-core unemployed to programs for top management employ sensitivity training. It is used to help improve the self-image of welfare recipients, motivate the hard-core unemployed, educate supervisors of low income minorities, orient antipoverty program staff, and make young businessmen more "aware."

Sensitivity training originally grew out of a need to make employees function efficiently in the corporation. A critical element in corporate performance is predictability and conformity among the work force. The ideal is to have the employee's personal objectives completely congruent with corporate objectives. Therefore, early sensitivity training tried to teach more efficient work habits and to define common goals.

Many corporations continue to support sensitivity training although its aims have broadened considerably. Now it is also sponsored by schools, communities, churches, and government. Most sensitivity training today stresses open expression of emotion, self-awareness, seeing yourself as others see you. Many participants seem to enjoy the sense of community it creates. It now can be seen as an attempt to create community in a society that has become impersonal and sterile.

The National Training Laboratories Institute for Applied Behavioral Science, which is associated with the National Education Association, defines sensitivity training as "experience based learning" in which "a participant learns human relations, communication, and leadership skills. He learns from his experience in the group by observing and reacting to the behavior (including his own) of group members, under the guidance of a trainer."

Generally, sensitivity training begins with a statement by the trainer or group leader. The National Training Laboratories provides the following example:

"This group will meet for many hours and will serve as a kind of laboratory where each individual can increase his understanding of the forces which influence individual behavior and the performance of groups and organizations. The data for learning will be our own behavior, feelings, and reactions. We begin with no definite structure or organization, no agreed-upon procedures, and no specific agenda. It will be up to us to fill the vacuum created by the lack of these familiar elements and to study our group as we evolve.

"My role will be to help the group to learn from its own experience, but not to act as a traditional chairman nor to suggest how we should organize, what our procedure should be, or exactly what our agenda will include. With these few comments, I think we are ready to begin in whatever way you feel will be most helpful."

Discussion Raises Conflict

The gathering is then open for free ranging discussion and a variety of activities. Some group members play an active role; others observe. Most often, individuals discuss their own and each other's experiences and attempt to draw some generalizations. This discussion in turn raises conflicts and new issues and often causes group members to question each other's values. From this kind of interchange, the participant is expected to be more aware of himself, to see how the group functions in relation to him, and to understand how organizations function in relation to the individuals in them.

During the discussion, the trainer may use a number of techniques to increase the group's awareness of individual roles. Some employ role playing where participants act out difficult situations; some use face masks, distorted glasses, and other devices to change the environment or to heighten visual perception of roles. A new business has, in fact, grown out of sensitivity "hardware."

Many groups offer sensitivity training today. A sizable number may be promoters riding a popular wave. Many will be eliminated by the pressures of a competitive market. Discounting some flagrant hustlers, who promise instant transformation of every man into the chairman of the board, there seem to be five main types of serious laboratory education:

- General human relations labs for groups with similar occupational or organizational interests.
- In-company human relations training for personnel with different ranks and functions.
- In-company human relations training for personnel of similar rank but with different functions.
- Training for an entire department, community, or organization, consisting of several ranks.
- Team training for group work. The group is interdependent and small and usually focused on one task.

These five types vary in whether attendance is voluntary or directed by the company; whether meetings are held at work, in the community, or at a retreat; length of training; type and ratio of staff; and training design. Clearly, the field covers a tremendous variety of approaches. This undoubtedly results from the youth of the industry and its lack of validation.

Much of the sensitivity training in manpower programs is built around specific employment problems of the disadvantaged. Participants act out work-related situations such as being interviewed, filling out applications, receiving orders from a supervisor, and asking for help when they do not understand directions. In such task oriented sessions that have been observed by the authors, trainees seem to be interested and enlivened by the role-playing exercises.

The discussion that follows the role playing seems to do two things. First, it reveals that most individuals in the group share certain problems or uncertainties. Second, it develops group pressure to find constructive ways to deal with the problems. Here, the trainer's role becomes critical.

Some trainers focus the discussion on pragmatic solutions to job problems. They keep the sessions task oriented. In part, these trainers seem to be following the methodology of group programs such as Alcoholics Anonymous, Weight Watch-

Mr. Schrank and Mrs. Stein are manpower consultants. They have done evaluation and program development work for a variety of Ford Foundation projects which use sensitivity training.

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ers, Smokers Anonymous, and Synanon, which bring together a group with common problems to share solutions and provide group support.

Other trainers, however, take an alternate route. Their discussions stress the psychological adjustments that individuals must make to get along better. This kind of psyche tinkering is expected to lead to general changes such as increased motivation, greater self-confidence, and more happiness or honesty. Manpower programs seem to have greater success when they stick to the task-oriented approach. Dealing with general psychological problems requires a professional who is equipped to handle such matters.

Critics of sensitivity claim that research shows insignificant change in attitude and almost no change in behavior. In the October 1968 issue of INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS, Marvin Dunnette and John Campbell reported on their reviews of 17 sensitivity training projects that were conducted between 1953 and 1966. Approximately 1,000 participants were involved.

"Evidence in favor of any claims that laboratory education can increase or change interpersonal awareness, 'self-insight' or interpersonal sensitivity is nearly nonexistent," Dunnette and Campbell said. "Whatever change does occur seems quite limited in scope and may not contribute in any important way to changes in overall job effectiveness."

Results Hard to Measure

In their book, PERSONAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE THROUGH GROUP METHODS, Edgar Schein and Warren Bennis claim there are "positive results" from sensitivity training. They acknowledge, however, that drawing firm conclusions is complicated by a number of factors: Trainer resistance to evaluation, insufficient control groups, insufficient staff and funds to prepare evaluations, scarcity of reliable pre- and post-training indexes, lack of pre-testing, and open-ended questions not easily quantified.

Dunnette and Campbell and Schein and Bennis reflect professional opinion on both sides of the controversy. Both show clearly that there are still many problems with validation. These problems are evident in the comments of company management personnel, who often express skepticism or uncertainty about the lasting effects of sensitivity projects sponsored by their firms. The response of the manager of a major corporation's research department is typical:

"There has been no apparent impact in most cases and individuals involved returned from labs to conduct themselves in much the same manner as they did previously. . . . In the past 3 years, we have tended to use laboratory training as part of 'organizational development' projects. We did this at three locations with questionable results. The plants certainly became more comfortable places to work during the latter phases of the organizational development effort and immediately after. Two plants, however, quickly returned to their prior jungle state."

Other management officials reflect this same lack of hard results. Rather than being critical of sensitivity, they seem bewildered as to why it is attended and endorsed by the employees. At a recent Washington meeting of major companies involved in training the "hard-core disadvantaged," a majority of the representatives indicated that their firms sponsored some kind of laboratory education. Then the discussion turned to "why." After noting confusion on this point, most respondents offered answers that fell into one of the following categories:

- Employees seem to enjoy the sessions.
- Sensitivity seems to be the most "modern method" of stimulating motivation.
- Other companies had recommended a specific program.
- It shows that the company is doing something about the interpersonal (often racial) strains in the company.

As for the participants in sensitivity sessions, they usually react positively to the experience. Their evaluations often are sprinkled with words like "stimulating," "exciting," "wonderful experience." For many, participation in sensitivity sessions is a highly emotional experience.

Some say the sessions provide a forum for straightforward communication which does not exist in their everyday lives. They say group members "really related to each other" and showed "deep feelings." Others claim to gain self-insight from seeing how others react to them. They believe this helps them become more effective in their work and in their personal lives.

Groups in company sponsored training often say the sessions give them a chance to air personal gripes that otherwise go unexpressed. These employees, along with some community groups, also seem to enjoy a chance to share basic beliefs and guilts which often cannot be aired elsewhere. The temporary suspension of status and interpersonal reality which some groups provide supports this confession-like activity. Often the participants are relieved to find that others share their values.

Lasting Effects Doubted

Finally, many employees are flattered that the company selected them for the lab sessions. They believe it shows that the boss is interested in their opinions. This makes them feel valuable. It helps build esprit de corps. Beyond this, the structuring of the session around company problems often creates a feeling of participatory management which seems to please members of the group.

These results cover a wide range of personal and job needs, but they are difficult to measure and they are far from the demonstrable benefits employers expect to achieve in the sessions. Trainers may, therefore, resist defining these effects.

These reactions of participants suggest that sensitivity training performs some popular function but that it does not necessarily change behavior, affect atti-

'...reactions of participants suggest that sensitivity training performs some popular function but that it does not necessarily change behavior, affect attitudes, or constitute formal learning.'

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tudes, or constitute formal learning. Furthermore, studies in the psychology of attitudinal change tend to support the notion that lasting change is unlikely to result from this type of brief sensitivity training.

A number of studies indicate that persons functioning in a group situation are very likely to respond to group pressure by conforming to group expectation. Conformity in these situations rarely involves changed attitudes. It more often represents a temporary accommodation. It may be that participants in sensitivity accept criticism of their behavior and attempt to change it in the group situation. However, when the group dissolves, old patterns may emerge.

The pressure to conform is greatest in face-to-face groups. Pressure on an individual further increases in relation to his increased participation in the group. The more he participates, the greater the pressure to behave as the group demands. Thus, if a sensitivity trainer carefully manipulates the group, involving everyone and defining preferred behavior, he could bring off a fairly high level of conformity.

Satisfying Unmet Needs

It may also be that the challenge and confession atmosphere of sensitivity serves more of a ceremonial purpose than it serves to bring real change. Participants' evaluations suggest that people enjoy acknowledging their weaknesses, confessing faults, and setting new goals. It is unclear whether this involves mere exorcism or brings about a fundamental change in behavior.

Despite the difficulty in assessing results, sensitivity is satisfying some unmet need. And apparently it is beginning to tackle some emerging work-related matters that require attention, among them the increasing interest in participatory management, the new emphasis on the quality of life in the work place, and changed attitudes favoring self-satisfaction through work rather than work as a duty. Sensitivity may provide a new forum for socialization, involvement, and expression of emotion, all of which are increasingly discouraged in the mass society. In other words, it may be an attempt to restore what has been called a "sense of community" in our depersonalized world.

As noted earlier, sensitivity training has been going on for some time on the management level of corporations, primarily to develop behavior that supports management goals. The ideal objective was a congruence of individual and corporate goals.

Recent evidence suggests, however, that employees now question this objective. For example, the WALL STREET JOURNAL carried a series of articles describing the breakdown of work discipline on all levels of the work force. Increasing absenteeism, lateness, and turnover are cited as symptoms of job dissatisfaction. Interviews with job leavers indicate a major source of dissatisfaction is the lack of personal fulfillment through work. Employees may no longer accept the notion that personal needs are secondary to corporate demands.

Into this breach have come the behavioral scientists. They suggest that something can be done at the work place to overcome the growing alienation from the job. Behavioral science has long recognized the benefits that accrue from participation in decisionmaking. Sensitivity seems to be an attempt to institutionalize these benefits for corporate advantage.

However, it may be possible that what started out as an effort to get people to conform to ideal "corporate behavior" is now beginning to challenge the concept that "what is good for the company is good for you." The challenge may be particularly significant since much of sensitivity training now occurs outside the work place. In many communities, informal social groups participate in evening sensitivity sessions which also stress the need for self-expression, freeing of emotions, and self-awareness.

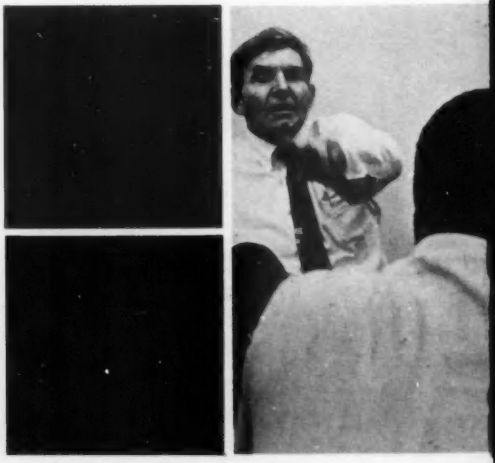
In many respects, the broad social developments that seem to support sensitivity may actually undermine its earlier corporate objectives. These social changes could generally be described as a growing interest in the quality of life. Americans seem to be making increased demands for "meaningfulness," "relevancy," "authenticity," "feeling and caring." Apparently, many of the traditional institutions—the family, the church, the neighborhood—no longer satisfy these needs. Increasing divorce rates, declining church and seminary support, apathy, and loneliness are only a few clues to these changes.

.The work scene may provide a clue to how these new needs get articulated. Until recently, the majority of working Americans seemed to view their jobs as a way to meet living expenses and to provide a little extra for the amenities of life at home. The good life was envisioned in their homes, in the back yard, on weekends, and after work. Men with good jobs commonly thought of building a career with one company.

Work Attitudes Changing

This attitude toward work seems to be breaking down. Increasingly, employees tend to look for humanism on the job. Most would never have entertained such hopes a decade earlier. Evidence of this shift can be seen in management's complaints of increased turnover, employees who shop around, increased employee interest in participating in company management, and increases in company sponsored social and educational activities. An in-depth study of telephone company employees suggests that the unmet need for personal involvement and a dissatisfaction with boring work were prime factors in causing employee turnover. Employees seem to be developing a reluctance to accept anonymity and conformity in a large, complex, technical society—either at work or in their communities.

The dissatisfactions can be met in a



variety of ways. One approach is sensitivity. However, sensitivity is basically a methodology and not a philosophy; it can be used for good or evil. It can free people or it can manipulate them.

One can argue that if society is sterile, training ought to prepare people to change the system. Critics of sensitivity often charge that this is sensitivity's failing—that it is merely an escape valve for dissatisfaction, not a catalyst for change. In sensitivity training there needs to be a clear definition of what a group expects to accomplish as a result of its training. This decision should not be left to the trainer or training organization.

Purchasers of sensitivity training must beware of companies that promise instant personality change and the "key to success." Many of these companies charge from $200 to $600 for a kit containing notebooks, a few tapes or records, a machine to play them on, and directions on how to set up a few stylized conflict situations in the session. It is unlikely that any miraculous changes will come from these methods.

People can be manipulated in sensitivity sessions when they are unaware of what is happening. One of the writers participated in a laboratory for antipoverty workers where this danger became clear. Most of the participants were quite unsophisticated about behavioral science methodology.

Unknowingly, they participated in activities which were very revealing about themselves. It was shocking to see trainers do this without first telling participants what would be revealed by the particular exercise. The participants should have been given a choice of whether they wished to reveal these things about themselves.

This particular group of antipoverty workers was faced with many organizing them into a session to examine interpersonal relations implied that the problem was how they functioned, rather than tional and programmatic problems. Draw- a chaotic socioeconomic system operating in the ghetto.

Role-Playing Masks Used

Other problems emerge when sensitivity training involves what may be termed "packaged feelings." Many programs today "organize" conflict around stylized situations. Some provide an unreal forum for expression. One popular device is for one participant to wear a black mask and another a white mask in role-playing exercises. Participants usually understand that the masks clarify racial roles and assist persons in "playing" their parts. The lack of verified carry-over to real situations suggests that this "packaged expression" seldom encourages real action. Some sensitivity training may only drain off the tensions that motivate people.

This is not to say that all sensitivity training is insidious. Quite the reverse. Clearly, sensitivity is satisfying many individual and corporate clients. However, a decision should first be made by trainer and participants whether the basic problem being addressed is with the persons or with the situation. Carlisle said that the alpha and omega of all wisdom is to know when to change the individual and when to change the situation. It is this conflict that needs to be resolved with sensitivity sessions. This can be done effectively only if sensitivity is seen in relation to the broad social environment of those it serves.

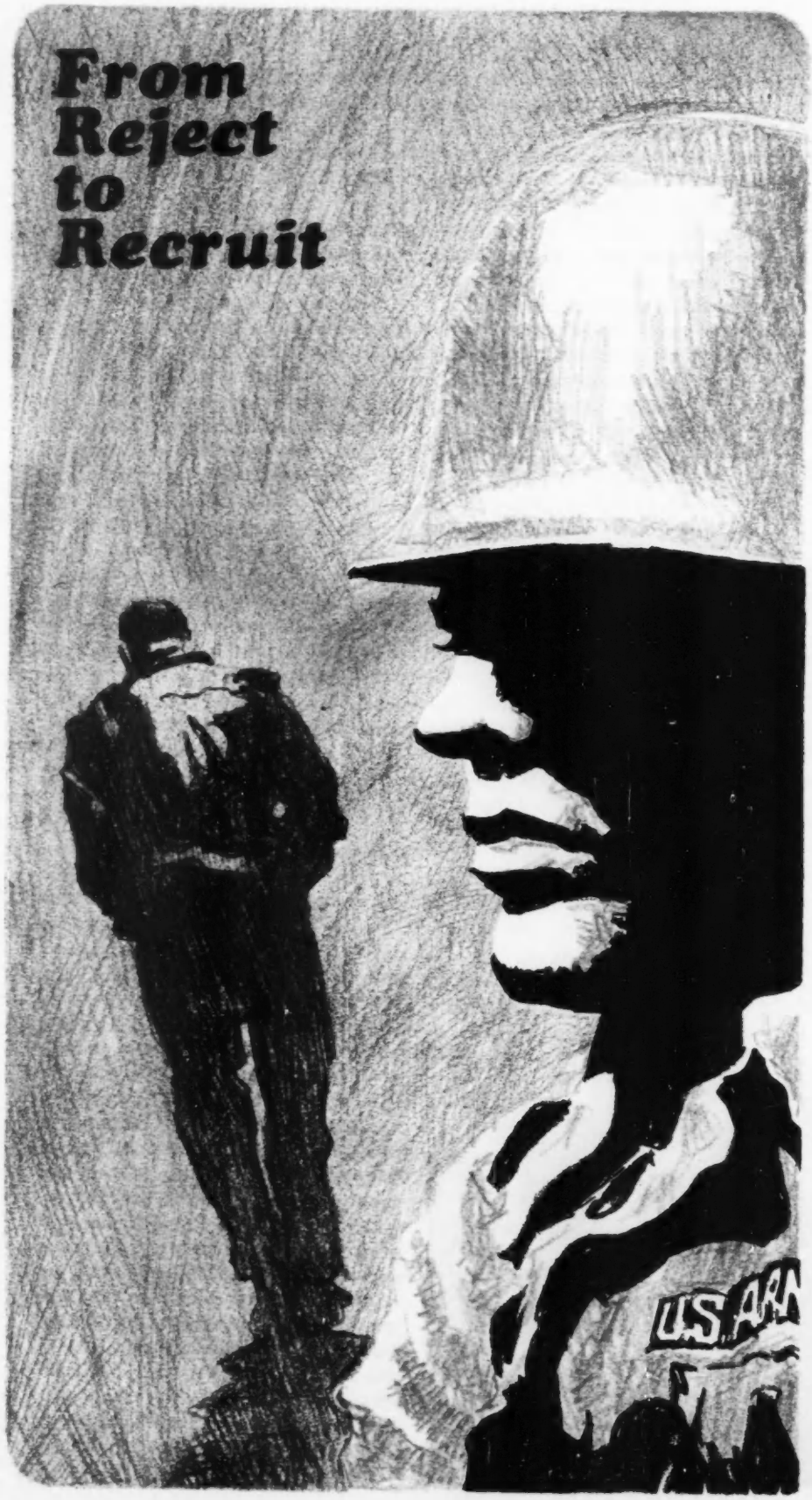
The development of professionalism among sensitivity trainers is needed. The industry must outline its goals more clearly, define who is qualified to be a trainer, state what constitutes proper practice, and support research studies on effectiveness. At present, there are few organizations that assume these responsibilities.

There is tremendous confusion on the extent of sensitivity training in this country. Apparently no one has any idea how many persons participate each year, how many companies offer training, or how they attempt to measure effectiveness. This confusion facilitates the operation of sensitivity hustlers and gimickry. It may suggest that at this time sensitivity is not a profession but an emerging industry.

A professional association of sensitivity trainers could begin to define what different types of sensitivity training expect to accomplish. In turn, this would clarify who should be qualified as trainers. For example, training for urban antipoverty workers should focus on city government operation, how to relate to city officials, how power is controlled, and legislative processes. If the training is to assist a small corporate unit in performing a certain task, the trainer should be familiar with the components of the task itself.

On the other hand, sensitivity training designed for socialization (peer groups, informal encounter groups), has less structured goals and usually more emphasis on psychological adjustments, requiring leaders with different qualifications. Because sensitivity training has become a popular approach to widespread social dissatisfaction, goal clarification is critical. Controls and definitions are needed for sensitivity training to move from a loosely structured industry to a serious profession concerned with how people relate to one another. □

From Reject to Recruit



By JOHN E. MORAN

For Clyde M. Stanley, November 7, 1968 was a very disappointing day. He tried to enlist in the Army but failed the written test. Usually, that is the end of the road for a volunteer. However, after 8 weeks of intensive coaching, Stanley was back at the center for a second try, and this time he passed. Now in the last months of a 2-year hitch in the Army, Stanley is studying for his high school equivalency diploma. When he is discharged late this year, he has no intention of returning to his old job as a trash collector in San Antonio; he wants his own service station. As an important step toward that goal he plans to enroll in Project Transition, a job training program for soon-to-be discharged military personnel, to learn to operate and manage a service station.

Stanley's ambitions and prospects have been raised considerably during his Army enlistment. And had it not been for the coaching he received under the Volunteer Military Rejectee (VMR) Program after his first failure, he may never have qualified for the Army. VMR offered intensive education and vocational training to youngsters who tried to volunteer for military service but could not pass the written test.

The 2-year experimental and demonstration project began July 1, 1966, and was funded for $501,000 by the U.S. Department of Labor's Manpower Administration. Operating through State employment service offices in six cities, the program recruited 3,127 rejected volunteers, moved 680 of them into the Armed Forces, placed another 188 in other training projects, and found jobs for 421.

After experimental and demonstration funding ran out June 30, 1968, the six cities continued their activities using regular employment service operating funds. During the next 5 months the project moved 380 more participants into the Armed Forces (for a total of 1,060), found other training slots for 55 and jobs for 57. The project still is operating at a decelerated pace in four cities. San Antonio and Baltimore, which continue to report results, qualified 135 initially

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rejected volunteers for the service in 1969.

The VMR Program grew out of two experimental projects conducted in 1964-66 in Washington, D.C. and Baltimore by the National Committee for Children and Youth (NCCY), a nonprofit organization for improving the welfare of young people mainly through direct upgrading services.

During the 3-year experiments the NCCY helped 8,000 rejectees aged 17 to 22. Nearly half were placed in jobs, more than 10 percent returned to school, and more than 14 percent were able to improve their test scores and enter military service. This success prompted the Manpower Administration to fund a demonstration project, accenting the military program, for Baltimore, Chicago, Los Angeles, St. Louis, San Antonio, and Washington.

Coach Classes Set Up

Under the project, employment service outreach workers got in touch with rejected volunteers at Armed Forces recruiting stations. The volunteers then were assigned to counselors who interviewed them to determine their interest in a military career and their ability to profit from attending "coach classes." After counseling, some youngsters decided that training under the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) or the Job Corps would be more suitable to their needs and abilities.

Coach classes, usually with local boards of education providing teachers for remedial education, were set up for those who wanted to take the military test again. Operating out of the State employment services' Youth Opportunity Centers, counselors supplemented classroom work with group guidance, special instruction, and discussion periods. They also found temporary jobs to put money in the volunteer's pocket while he attended evening classes.

Most participants met Armed Forces requirements within 10 weeks of entering class. In 1968, 72 percent of those completing their coaching entered military service. Classes gradually were streamlined and 2 to 4 weeks were lopped off. Chicago cut its sessions to 4 weeks in 1968, and by concentrating heavily on nonacademic phases of the Armed Forces Qualification Test, sent 291 people to military service. Of the total number of rejected volunteers interviewed by VMR counselors in Chicago in 1968, 44 percent ultimately got into the service. Sixty-six percent of those who entered and completed coach classes enlisted.

To prepare participants—mostly disadvantaged—for their second try at the test, coach classes concentrated on improving communication skills and strengthening mechanical aptitudes. Most military training is based on learning by doing. And most of the candidates had some mechanical ability developed from repairing bicycles and tinkering with their housing facilities. Classes stressed broadening the trainee's knowledge of tools and of mechanical and electrical principles. They also emphasized practice in taking tests and learning to follow instructions.

Though most VMR participants were men, women also were helped in the Baltimore and San Antonio programs. Conception Vargas of San Antonio, for example, failed the Army enlistment screening test in 1967 at age 19. She was given special tutoring in English and math for several weeks. Meanwhile, the Texas Employment Commission placed her as a sales girl in a department store, so she could earn needed pocket money while studying. When she tried the test a second time, she not only passed easily but came within three points of qualifying for officers' training school. She was such a good soldier that she was named assistant platoon leader during basic training.

Women usually received individual tutoring, though the Baltimore program had some success with group instruction in the evening. Women's jobs in the military dictated that most of their coaching revolve around math and remedial English.

The average VMR participant in the six cities was a young man under 20 years of age who had completed 9 to 11 years of education. More than 85 percent were high school dropouts. Over two-thirds had never registered with the employment service in their communities. More than half were unemployed at the time they entered the program.

The typical coach class had an average of 20 enrollees. Counseling and group discussions held after instruction periods are credited with being an important factor in maintaining class interest and solving personal problems.

Even with counseling and followup, 45 percent of coach class enrollees dropped out before finishing the course. Most quit because they found a job or because their work conflicted with class attendance.

With his eye on a gas station of his own, Sp4 Clyde M. Stanley, a supply clerk at Fort Hood, Tex., plans to take a Project Transition course in service station management before leaving the Army late this year.

Marine PFC Yoosung Byun, a Korean immigrant who used the VMR project to improve his English, works out with Pfc. W. A. Taylor during a sparring round of Karate at Camp Lejeune, N.C.

(Some of the trainees, though, were so highly motivated to get into military service that they refused job offers to study day and night for their military entrance tests.) Others gave up because they lost interest, returned to school, or were sick. Lack of transportation to class also was an important handicap to success.

In four of the six demonstration cities, the board of education furnished teachers for classes in remedial English and math. Where teachers were not available, other sources were used. University students interested in social work, retired military officers, and civic groups volunteered as instructors.

The instructors were supported by employment service counselors. They maintained contacts with military officials and the board of education while providing many specialized services. Sometimes, it was necessary for a volunteer to obtain a waiver of delinquency records to enter the Armed Forces. Counselors assisted in this and also helped to prepare classroom materials. They organized the classes, maintained discipline, and offered special instruction in such areas as tool recognition and spatial relationships.

Coach class results—and difficulties—varied from city to city. Rochester had been selected as one of the test cities for the project, but it was impossible to assemble a coach class of sufficient size there to justify the assignment of adult education teachers. It "apparently demonstrated," according to the project's final report, "that most northern industrial cities with populations of less than 1 million and with sound educational school programs would probably have too few rejectees to make a VMR program worthwhile."

Chicago had the best results and the final report attributed the high success ratio in part to staff dedication. The counselors maintained a very close relationship with Armed Forces recruiters. In the first 5 months after the expiration of the experimental program, Chicago took in 450 rejected volunteers, of whom 313 were unemployed. Coach classes or tutoring were arranged for 440 of them; 408 completed the program, and 240 subsequently entered military service.

D. C. Dropout Rate High

In Washington, the VMR Program took over the on-going NCCY project. Staff members received excellent cooperation from military recruiters and the board of education. Of those completing the course in Washington, 69 percent were accepted by the service. Washington's high dropout rate—about 60 percent of those who entered training—was attributed in part to an initial enrollment well in excess of the 300 per year programed, which strained the counseling and educational staffs and physical facilities.

Because adult education funds were under the control of the Missouri State Department of Education, instead of the board of education, St. Louis Adult Education teachers could not participate in the project there. Tutoring was done by employment service personnel. St. Louis had the lowest dropout rate (20 percent) among the six cities. The Youth Opportunity Center serving as the VMR office was only 2 blocks from the military recruiting station, and it was convenient to transportation. Classes operated informally during the daytime, and participants could come in at any time and progress at their own pace.

High employment in Baltimore was in part responsible for the high dropout rate (55 percent) in that city. A shortage of staff compounded the problem. However, of the 135 who completed the coach classes in fiscal year 1968 in Baltimore, 103—77 percent—entered the service. Baltimore was the only city to provide a coach class for women volunteers.

In San Antonio, staff dedication helped overcome some severe obstacles. Adult education teachers in the area cannot teach outside their school districts. Originally, volunteers from the San Antonio Literacy Council helped but later became unavailable. Employment service personnel took over coaching chores, aided by active and retired military personnel.

In Los Angeles, 743 rejected volunteers were interviewed by VMR counselors in fiscal years 1967 and 1968. Of that number, 338 took coach classes or tutoring, 130 completed the program, and 78 qualified for the military service. The major difficulty was lack of transportation. Bus service, particularly in the Watts area, was inadequate for evening coach classes. Many participants found it necessary to go to class directly from home or work without dinner. A State car was used by the project during fiscal 1967 but was no longer available in 1968 when expenditures were cut.

Chicago, Washington, Baltimore, and San Antonio are the four cities where the VMR project continues to operate at curtailed levels. In Los Angeles, the program has been combined with other services offered to people who need coaching to meet local civil service requirements. St. Louis regretfully abandoned the effort due to the lack of participation by adult education personnel. An effort was made there to reestablish it under the Cooperative Area Manpower Planning System, but it was not successful.

Most of the men who entered the service as the result of VMR efforts adapted to military life and made acceptable soldiers. Especially noteworthy is that in the approximately 2 years that the VMR project was in full operation, more than 66 percent of the participants who completed the relatively short prescribed course qualified for and entered military service.

On a personal level, Clyde Stanley, Conception Vargas, and many others like them found VMR at a critical point in their lives, and it helped. □

After only 8 days of VMR-supervised intensive study, Tommy C. Gates took his Marine Corps qualification test for the second time, passed it, and soon was learning infantry skills at Camp Pendelton, Calif.

Getting Cinderella to the Ball

REPORT REVIEWS EXPERIENCE OF 100 COMPANIES IN HIRING THE HARD CORE

"The very rich," said F. Scott Fitzgerald, "are different from you and me."

So, it seems, are the very poor. And they are quite different from each other, according to the National Industrial Conference Board (NICB), a nonprofit business research organization, which recently completed one of the most extensive studies ever made of private industry programs to help disadvantaged jobseekers.

One large company, for example, thought it advisable to devote a substantial part of training time for the disadvantaged to elementary information on personal affairs. "The instructors, however," reports the NICB study, "were given considerable food for thought when, after a session on how to fill out a check correctly, the class of hard-core trainees launched into a discussion of the pros and cons of investing in mutual funds."

Yet in another training program "many of the disadvantaged did not have clocks in their homes and in one project 25 percent of the trainees could not tell time." One Chicago trainee did not know the city was located on a lake; dozens of others who knew the lake was there had never seen it, though Lake Michigan is within a few minutes' walk of parts of the ghetto.

A training manager for a third firm was harassed by the high rate of tardiness and absenteeism. His best efforts could not bring the record of the disadvantaged into line with that of the company's other employees. He might have given up had not an objective analysis demonstrated that two-thirds of the infractions were being committed by 10 percent of the trainees. The rest "actually had much better attendance records than the company's regular hires."

The NICB study, entitled "Managing Programs for the Disadvantaged," is based on the experiences of 100 companies. Some of the firms are small; others are corporate giants such as International Harvester and General Motors. Some accepted Government money through the Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS) Program; others have worked on their own.

Those who may have thought it would be a simple task to handle these new hires quickly learned better. A story in the NICB report related by a vice president at Equitable Life Assurance Society illuminates one of the difficulties:

"Within a month of hiring one of our first dropouts, the man disappeared. He did not appear at work. People who answered his telephone number said they didn't know him. A letter sent to him was returned as undeliverable. His parents couldn't be located. Initially, no one in his neighborhood could be found who would admit that they knew where or who he was. At last an address was given to the investigator—an address that turned out to belong to a local hospital. We found him there dying of cancer."

Before this shattering episode, Equitable treated its disadvantaged hires just like any other employees. Afterwards, it changed training practices to allow for the fact that "dropouts lived in a world outside our experience."

Transportation is a widely recognized headache for the hard core. Usually they live in the inner-city, and the jobs often are across town or in the suburbs. Public transportation is often inadequate. But in Chicago, getting to work took on an extra dimension for young International Harvester trainees. Ghetto youngsters are divided into gangs. Each gang has its own territory. "Members of one gang will not cross the 'turf' of another gang to get to work," said a Harvester executive. "And it doesn't matter whether they are traveling in public transportation or in closed cars provided by the company." Anxious to make its hiring and training program for youngsters a success, Harvester had to sit down and negotiate with the various gangs as with sovereign powers. "As it turned out," the executive noted with relief, "the gang leaders responded to the appeal to 'let the brothers get ahead,' and an arrangement was worked out."

Nor is this the only example of how the requirements for holding a job, which come so easily to middle-class white workers, become formidable barriers for the poor. Simply reporting an absence is sometimes next to impossible. The study cites a revealing case history:

"One morning PK awoke with the flu. There was no telephone in PK's house. When he had been ill in the past, his mother had used a neighbor's telephone to call her son's supervisor. But this morning the neighbor was not home. The temperature was below freezing, and PK's mother, who did not have a coat, refused to go outside to the candy store several blocks away to make the call."

Cinderella *continued*

Furthermore, the reasons for their absences are usually alien to middle-class experience. One man reported he could not come to work because, "I was stabbed."

Equitable learned through its efforts to hire school dropouts that many of them expect to fail, and feel there is little or nothing they can do about it. Their philosophy is akin to that of the ancient Greek tragedies: Man is the plaything of the gods; fortune, not character, determines his fate.

"Many of the dropouts didn't see much point to planning for the future," the NICB report says. "Many viewed their lives as one long bad luck story. They had had the bad luck to be born into minority groups, and often had been born to broken or unstable families. They were born poor, to go to poor schools, to live in violent, dangerous neighborhoods. What happened to them did not seem the result of their own efforts or lack of them, but of blind fortune. As one dropout received the word of his dismissal, his counselor noted, 'His attitude was one of resignation to his fate. It was as though he was an impartial witness to his own destiny.'

"The dropouts were not necessarily without aspirations. . . . But these aspirations belonged mainly to the realm of dreams and wishes. . . . Luck, not action, was viewed as needed to change his fate, and without it, his condition seemed inevitable and unchangeable.

"Dropouts expected to fail at Equitable because they felt they had failed in the past. Usually they had failed—or been failed—in their relationships with their families, particularly their fathers, and they had failed in school."

Many companies reported that supervisors contributed to rather than solved problems. Clashes between trainees and supervisors are cited as a major reason for the failure of company programs. One young black trainee walked off the job because he had been hazed by his supervisor and told by his white coworkers that the fumes from the pickling vat at which he worked would sap his virility.

Another trainee who was sent several times for tools that did not exist was unable to bear the teasing. He left believing his supervisor did not like him. The supervisor denied any personal dislike for the departing trainee. He contended that hazing was normal for any newcomer to the department. Another white supervisor drove Negroes off the job by calling them "boy."

Racial bias was not always behind this sort of behavior. International Harvester discovered that its regular black workers could be as disdainful of the disadvantaged as whites. The trainees were generally people of low social status, assumed to be poor performers and troublemakers. "Some of our black people have objected to having the 'riffraff' let in," a Harvester executive observed.

Most firms surveyed are engaging in "survival training" to help the new men cope with these situations. "We are training our unemployables to survive on the job in spite of the supervisors' prejudices and lack of interest," said a counselor at a major bank. "That may sound terrible in conventional management terms, but that's what we try to do."

Equitable and the Sybron Corporation, on the other hand, regard motivation as the key to breaking down supervisor resistance. They reward managers for good results in working with minority employees.

"Sybron Corporation uses its annual goal-setting program as one method of impressing upon its managers that the company holds them accountable for making equal employment opportunity a reality. . . . Each manager helps to establish the specific performance results the company will hold him to. . . . The payoff at the end of the year is for the actual results he achieves, not for the effort he says he has expended. Salary adjustments are directly related to the results achieved."

Equitable is traveling the same path. "At first, the supervisor's responsibility was limited to on-the-job training to prepare the dropouts for entry-level general clerical positions in 1 year. As the company learned more about the dropouts' motivational problems, however, training for promotion became an integral part of the dropout program. By the third year, supervisors were made responsible for preparing the dropout for at least one promotion in 2 years. Supervisors knew from previous experience that their own progress at Equitable was intimately linked to their ability to train and develop their subordinates."

All this seems like a lot of trouble. Why does management bother? There are two answers, social conscience and economic need, and the report does not say which is of paramount importance. When General Motors' Pontiac Division began hiring the hard core following the summer riots of 1967, "only part of its motivation was that of benefiting the community," the NICB reports. "The division was faced with a labor shortage. . . . (It) was anticipating the largest sales year in its history and it needed more employees."

A variation on this theme recurs in other case histories in the study, which notes that, "There is remarkably little disagreement among business leaders on this score: If business cannot learn to employ the disadvantaged effectively and productively, business itself may well experience rising labor and production costs; staffing problems may become more severe; employment may be increasingly subject to Government regulation; and the problems of the cities may well prove insoluble."

The study avoids pinning the label of "success" or "failure" on efforts to hire the disadvantaged, but does note that executives have learned that the hard core can be employed and that they may be the primary labor pool for certain jobs. Equitable, as noted earlier, learned that they could not be treated like normal hires. They needed counseling, extra training, remedial education, and a large dose of motivation. But once on the job and trained, most companies feel, they must produce. "There can be no double standard of work performance, discipline, and rules."

Here are some other observations from the NICB report:

• Most training programs are staffed by a mixture of blacks and whites. Black staff members are usually accepted more quickly by trainees, understand them better, and can exercise stronger supervision. They are living proof that the company offers blacks a chance for advancement. Consequently, black staff members are normally regarded "as an indispensable ingredient to success."

But being black is no automatic guarantee that a staff man will perform well. College-educated Negroes may have as little understanding of ghetto inhabitants as their white peers. Nor are professional-level blacks always sympathetic and willing to help. "I'm an engineer," said one of the managers interviewed. "I worked hard to become one, and that's where my interests lie. I don't want to become a personnel man just because I'm black."

• While some unions have taken an active role in hard-core training efforts, most "have been standing aloof from the actual planning and operation of company programs." (It should be noted that the NICB study is based on management's perception of these programs.)

• Labor market conditions help shape the attitudes of regular employees to the new hires. "Fellow workers and supervisors tend not to resent having to help a disadvantaged individual, even if he is perceived as slow, if they need him to get the work out."

• Companies have come up with a number of ways to handle the special needs of the hard core. The simplest way to supplement on-the-job training is to assign a counselor (usually a company personnel staffer) or buddy or coach (a fellow worker) to the trainee. The Homasote Company, for example, a small Trenton firm, uses fellow workers as "big brothers." On a 1 to 1 basis, a regular Negro employee helps a disadvantaged black to adjust to his new work situation "by serving as his friend and temporary supervisor." During his first 3 months on the job, the new man receives no orders from his regular foreman. Instead the foreman tells the big brother what he wants to say and the big brother relays the message to the employee. This practice reduces friction between black and white.

• On-the-job training offers many advantages. The trainee is productive from the first day, which is good for motivation. Such programs are simple and relatively inexpensive. The supervisor is involved at an early stage, and the trainee sees that what he is learning is clearly work-related.

Special training centers, on the other hand, allow the recruitment of the most highly disadvantaged because of the greater support they provide. But "training centers are not actual work experiences, no matter how carefully they are designed. Highly sophisticated training programs have foundered because they did not prepare the trainee for the relatively unsophisticated and much less attractive environment of the workplace."

• Ghetto enterprises are not a speedy way to large-scale employment of the disadvantaged. But these enterprises have other advantages. They develop minority managers, aid the economy of the ghetto, improve ghetto community-company relations, and tap ghetto manpower that could not normally enter the labor market.

• Poverty programs and the State employment services provide most of the recruits, with the latter "emerging as possibly the single prime source." Companies have relied so heavily on the employment service that "the principal complaint has been that these agencies have not been able to supply adequate numbers of hard-core candidates." Some companies are finding it necessary to do their own recruiting in the ghettos.

• Hiring standards have been changed. Traditional screening devices, such as tests and applications, are being used more now to decide where to place the new employee rather than whether to hire him. Educational requirements are being lowered, and ex-convicts are no longer automatically barred. "No applicant will be denied consideration for employment solely because of a criminal record," Inland Steel Company declared in a policy memo in early 1967. "As with other elements of applicant data, the company will consider such record simply one aspect in a total personnel assessment of the individual."

• Most companies are discovering that even the most intensive training of the disadvantaged is useless if supervisors "are insensitive to the needs of the trainees or resistant to them." More supervisors are now being trained to manage the disadvantaged more effectively.

One of the most striking discoveries of the study is how companies have learned from the disadvantaged. Executives report their experiences in hiring and training the poor have altered their ideas on management generally. Virtually all practices regarding hiring standards, training, pay, seniority, and job design are being reexamined because of these new employees. Some companies have built new counseling and supervision into their employment programs and furnish instruction to regular employees in reading, writing, and oral skills.

For some it has led to a complete rethinking of their personnel systems. Company programs are being tailored to meet the special needs of all employees, both as individuals and as members of work groups. The NICB concludes that "this represents quite a change from the old days when as one executive recalls: 'We hired the disadvantaged like they were so many Cinderellas who only needed invitations to the ball. We forgot that even Cinderella had a fairy godmother to get her dressed on time and on the right bus.' " □

"This man was basically intelligent and capable of good production but he was often absent or late," said the top personnel man at a midwestern plant. "We couldn't figure out what was wrong. So we called in the Urban League. They figured it out in a hurry—he had no clock because he had never needed one and he had no raincoat because he never went out when it rained. They got him a raincoat and an alarm clock and the tardiness and absenteeism began to disappear.

"The League provides an excellent middle man service. You'd just never consider a guy wouldn't own an alarm clock or a raincoat. Yet you have to be aware of these special problems if you hope to make (the disadvantaged) productive workers. The Urban League made us aware of these problems."

The National Urban League has made a lot of people, especially employers, aware of such problems in the past few years. Since November 1964, the League has placed in jobs and trained more than 45,000 people, most of them disadvantaged blacks.

One of these was a 44-year-old convicted murderer who had served 14 years at Indiana State Prison. The Gary Urban League persuaded an East Chicago manufacturer to waive company rules to hire and train him for a job in the plant.

The company was compelled to lay him off, however, when a test showed he had syphilis. The League paid for medical treatment to cure him, then persuaded the employer to rehire him. The first full year with the company, during which he worked a good deal of overtime on incentive pay, he earned $9,300.

More Than 9,900 Placed

He was a hard, fast worker and the company regretfully had to let him go, for lack of seniority, when it partially closed down the East Chicago plant to install new equipment. The League promptly found him another job as a hammer man's helper in a forging plant in Gary, where he now earns $4 an hour.

Most of the League's job placement and training activities have been carried out with money provided by the U.S. Department of Labor under the on-the-job training (OJT) component of the Manpower Development and Training Act. The League is now executing a 2-year national $9.1 million contract (the largest OJT contract ever awarded by the Labor Department) to arrange training for 7,000 disadvantaged people (later boosted to 9,000 for technical reasons) in 30 cities. The League carries out its obligations through subcontracting arrangements with its affiliates in the 30 cities. Though the contract has until September to run, the League had placed 9,920 by February, 60 percent of whom had completed their training. By September the League expects to have trained and placed 11,000 people.

"We have made more than twice that number of straight job placements since the project began," said Kenneth Lein, the League's national OJT director. "These were placed with employers who want no reimbursements—they don't want to get involved with what they fear is Government red tape."

Under the OJT program, employers hire trainees at the company's regular wage rate, and are reimbursed for training costs. So far, Urban League agreements with employers under the national OJT contract have called for an average of 15 weeks of training per participant at an average reimbursement of $30 per week.

The League's primary concern since its founding in 1910 has been to aid minorities, principally blacks, make a better life for themselves as they migrated from rural areas to the cities. A private nonprofit corporation, it is active in housing, economic development, welfare, education, health, training, and employment. League projects serve to crack racial barriers as well as to help the hard-core disadvantaged.

In Gary, for example, the League last year opened the executive suites at one company previously closed to blacks. The League persuaded the firm, part of a giant conglomerate, to hire as a trainee Walter Anderson, a 26-year-old black with a college degree. After 10 weeks of on-the-job training, he was made personnel manager at a starting salary of $9,000 a year.

The Urban League's role in its manpower contracts with the Department of Labor is that of honest broker—and friendly counselor. League professionals sell employers on the idea of hiring and training the poor and minorities, negotiate the contracts, recruit trainees, give them orientation, test them for job aptitudes,

Philip S. Branson had to compete with other interested candidates for an opportunity to train as an architectural technician.

Urban League Helps Employers
And the Disadvantaged Find
And Understand Each Other

JOB BROKER FOR THE POOR

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JOB BROKER
continued

Supervisor John Weems (right) gives trainee Johnny Beal some advice on casting plastic at an Akron firm.

Perseverance paid off for Washington Urban League officials and Odessa Jones. She said she wanted a job grooming dogs. They doubted that they could find one for her—but they did.

Romaine Johnson (left) practices hand packaging under the guidance of instructor Joan Koller at a Gary supermarket.

place them, and coach and counsel them. Employers have access to the League's professional expertise in helping trainees adjust to their jobs, and are given on-the-spot help by the League when any problems, personal or otherwise, crop up.

"They refer applicants to meet the specifications that we give them, and we are very happy with the people they referred," said John Larabee, personnel manager of the Akron (Ohio) BEACON JOURNAL, who hired 15 League sponsored trainees. "Their followup work is excellent. They go out of their way to meet regularly with the individuals they placed and to consult with us about problems. In almost all cases, all differences have been ironed out satisfactorily."

Larabee stresses that the trainees have real jobs—"it's no make-work situation." The newspaper has put them "right into active production." He cites one young woman working for him in circulation. "She's been with us a year; she's in her early 20's and head of her family. She's now a supervisor in the telephone operation and five people work for her."

He added: "I'm not surprised at the success we've had after meeting some of the Urban League personnel."

A strong sense of the importance of personal and public relations is a notable characteristic throughout the Urban League network. It has to be. They have a tough selling job to do. "One of our main problems is promoting the idea (of on-the-job training)," said Emory Jackson, associate OJT director for the National Urban League. "In some places, employers have a weird notion of what it means to subcontract with us for a Government program. It's hard to make employers, particularly smaller employers, understand that the Government won't be breathing down their necks just because they signed an agreement."

A look at a typical local League OJT staff helps explain the organization's success at mediating among the Federal Government, employers, and the poor. The Washington, D.C. project is staffed by nine people, including three secretaries. The director, George James, 40, is a social worker with a Master's degree. Viola Jefferson, program supervisor, and Don Herring, field representative and the only white on the staff, also are college graduates.

None of the other three professionals—Miss Jessie Merritt and John Howard, job coaches, and Andrew E. Mack, Jr., trainee adviser — have college degrees. Howard, in fact, never reached high school. He dropped out after the sixth grade. Now 59, he was hired in November 1968 because of his intense involvement in Washington inner-city affairs.

Mack is a graduate of a Federal anti-poverty program. He was enrolled in Washington's New Careers project, which creates jobs in the professional aide category with built-in career ladders for the poor. He trained and worked for a year at the Redevelopment Land Agency as a home economist aide until joining the League's Washington staff in July 1968.

Staff Duties Clearly Defined

Although staff members substitute for each other when necessary, their main responsibilities are well defined. Herring persuades employers to sign on the dotted line. Mack prepares trainees for job hunting—with tips on grooming, filling out applications, furnishing references, and being articulate and precise. Miss Merritt and Howard work with employers and trainees on the job. Miss Jefferson oversees work with employers and trainees, and James runs the project. Volunteers also are used.

By March this team had placed 230 trainees, 64 had dropped out or been dropped, 130 had completed, and 36 were still in training. Its goal is to have 300 trained and in jobs by September 1970.

They work out of the League's Neighborhood Development Center, located in a poverty neighborhood. Many of the recruits simply walk in and ask for jobs. Others are sent by the city's Concentrated Employment Program (CEP). Still others come from the D.C. Manpower Administration and its outreach offices.

The League also recruits from such inner-city organizations as Efforts From Ex-Cons (EFEC), a group formed in 1966 by former prison inmates to develop self-help programs.

The League is authorized to place recruits in slots providing a maximum of 44 weeks of training for which employers can be reimbursed up to $50 a week. Average reimbursement, however, is well below this. "We place very few at the

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JOB BROKER
continued

full $50," said Washington project director James. "Our average cost is under $400 a trainee."

Training officers sometimes have to cope with unusual requests. Last year, Mrs. Odessa Jones, the mother of two children, came to the office and said she wanted to learn to groom dogs. She had heard there was good money in it. "I could hardly believe my ears," said Mack. "I never thought we could fill such an order. But I was wrong. Evidently there are thousands of poodles in this town that need grooming. Sure enough, we got an order and sent her out for 16 weeks of training." Mrs. Jones now works for a "Poodle Pub" and earns more than $125 a week.

A typical recruit comes to the League and is interviewed and evaluated to see if he is job ready in terms of skill or experience. If so, he is placed immediately. This is called a direct placement and does not count towards the League's training quotas. A person judged not ready for work is tested to determine his strong and weak points and is tentatively assigned to a training slot. Before calling on the employer he goes to two half-day orientation sessions to prepare for the job interview.

"We try to give the trainee a sense of identity with us," said James. "It's important that he feels a part of the project, and wants to help us make it a success in the community. If he doesn't like the job assignment, we want him to leave it the right way, to give notice, resign, and notify us. Don't just disappear, we tell them. We can get you something else."

Trainees are counseled individually on the job. Group counseling is held once a month, during the workday, for no more than 2 hours, sometimes at League headquarters, usually at some central location convenient for all trainees in a particular group. Architectural technician trainees, for example, meet every Wednesday at 2 p.m. at the American Institute of Architects (AIA) headquarters in Washington for group sessions.

The architectural technician program is the most glamorous developed by the Washington League. Eleven trainees have been placed with architectural firms in Washington, under the sponsorship of the AIA. (Two others dropped out.) They are in the middle of a 36-week training effort to make them qualified "office support" people. The "curriculum" includes operation of blueprint machines, copy work, duplicating, maintenance of material catalogue files, drafting and reviewing drawings. A half day each week they attend lectures at the AIA chapter house. Their starting wage was $2 an hour, and is boosted 10 cents every 9 weeks. Upon completion they will earn $2.40 and progress from then on is up to the individual. An experienced technician earns $4 to $5 an hour. Employers are being reimbursed $40 weekly for the duration of training.

Transport Is Big Problem

"We don't expect to train an architect in 36 weeks," said James. "But the program does give entry-level experience to people who are interested. We hope they will be stimulated into going into further training, but if an individual wants to stop short, he can become a draftsman, a good trade that pays well."

"They were all disadvantaged and all highly motivated," said Howard. "Contrary to our usual practice, they were picked on a competitive basis." The trainees range from 18 to 40 years old. Eight of them never finished high school. They were selected for this demanding occupation out of 23 candidates who tried. Their selection was based on motivation, dexterity, and perception.

In Washington and elsewhere, the League is battling formidable problems to make its job training program work. Among the difficulties are poor public transportation, hostility or lack of understanding by employers, and racial prejudice.

In Akron, as in so many other cities, transportation is a major headache. The poor live downtown, and many of the plants are in the suburbs. One cooperating employer, Carlon Products, a division of Continental Oil, is in Aurora, 25 miles from Akron.

The company manufactures plastic pipe and molded parts and hired 12 trainees October 5, seven of whom were still aboard in April earning $2.67 to $3.27 an hour. Public transportation was unsatisfactory so the company bought a 12-passenger station wagon, and hired a student to transport the trainees to work and back home, free of charge.

Plant manager Charles E. Mosher is pleased with the program and the trainees. He said the disadvantaged have performed as well as the average applicant and their dropout rate is no worse than for other employees. Mosher would like to see more attention given to transportation in any future training effort. "Operating that station wagon for three shifts is a heavy financial burden," he said.

Urban League national OJT director Lein points out that transportation is particularly important for women trainees. As part of the contract, the League is attempting to determine for the Labor

Clarence Davis graduated from the Akron Urban League training program to a job as a punch press setup man.

Department why and how some disadvantaged ghetto dwellers are motivated to accept training and jobs and why others are not.

"One of our preliminary conclusions is that car ownership has more to do with the ability of a woman to accept training than a man," Lein said. "A woman who does not own a car is apparently 50 percent less employable than a man in the same situation. The reason? We don't know. We didn't even know it was true before."

At least some progress is being made in overcoming racial prejudice. One company in Washington last year was undergoing equal employment opportunity compliance reviews by the Federal Government and was concerned that it did not have enough blacks or other minorities in its offices. It is now hiring secretaries through the League. One of these hires was a 19-year-old girl fresh from 12 weeks in the Washington Job Center where she attained minimum office skills. She could not find a job. The League placed her with the company at $2 an hour as a trainee. After 22 weeks of training, during which the company sent her to business college part time, she was boosted to $2.75 an hour. Later she was promoted to a job as a statistical typist. Now 20 years old, she earns $600 per month.

Akron Urban League OJT director James Taylor has had similar success.

A licensed practical nurse training program in his community normally enrolls only one or two black disadvantaged women for each class. His staff recruited tutors from the public school system to prepare black women on welfare for the entrance exams. They underwent instruction from 7 to 9 p.m. 4 nights a week for 3 weeks, and early in March, 17 of them were accepted for the most recent class of 24. All are now in training.

Many companies do not mind hiring League candidates but they do not want to be bothered with a training contract. "I think some of them are actually afraid the Government will come in and examine their books," said one League official. The League fills such job orders but often regrets that no contract is involved. They fear that the company will consign all black trainees to dead-end jobs, something employers find difficult to do while under scrutiny by the League. Another important factor is the need of many recruits for psychological support. Placing them cold in jobs often leads to failure. Counseling by the League, both for employers and trainees, can save a lot of unnecessary turnover.

Small Firms Hard To Sell

Taylor said small companies are harder to sell on training the disadvantaged than the big ones. "For years, employers have been excluding our recruits, many of whom have poor work records and have probation and other personal problems. Some employers, usually the smaller ones, don't understand these problems and don't have the trained personnel people to handle them. The larger employers are familiar with new concepts and with what the Urban League is trying to do. We have some problems with the large ones too, but there's no question they're more attuned to what we're trying to do."

Despite the problems, the League has posted a good record. It is exceeding its quota and has placed blacks as licensed practical nurses, office managers, supermarket and restaurant managers, personnel directors, bookkeepers and accountants, welders and machinists. Its recruits now grace the payrolls of Sears, Penney's, Woolworth's, Pullman Standard, Southern Railway, Boeing, U.S. Steel, International Telephone and Telegraph, Western Electric, and General Telephone.

About 8 percent of the recruits have not been new hires but persons already employed who have been given upgrading training. Fifty-one percent of its recruits have been 22 or under, the age range where unemployment is the highest, particularly for blacks. Although men are tougher to recruit and train than women, 52 percent of its trainees have been male. Ninety percent of its placements have been in the private sector of the economy.

Six percent, or nearly 600 trainees, have been placed in managerial or technical jobs, 19 percent in clerical or sales, and 18 percent in the machine trades. Another 13 percent have gone into bench work (small assembly or production) and 10 percent into metal fabricating. Some 9 percent have moved into the service trades. Average pay at the time training is completed is $2.25 an hour.

Its work with ex-convicts has been exceptional. Mark Greaves, Gary Urban League OJT director, reports that his project alone has helped about 200 felons find jobs or training since January 1966. His most recent success was with a 39-year-old offender in the Indiana State Prison work-release program. Every working day for 12 weeks beginning in March 1969 the man left the prison unescorted to retrain as a tool and die maker (his trade before going to jail in January 1967) at the nearby Pullman plant. Every evening he walked back to prison unescorted. His starting pay was $3.41. He finished at $4.40. His total training cost was $420. Since last May he has been on parole and a full-time employee at the plant, contributing to the support of his six children. "Where else can we spend $420 and get a job like that done?" said Greaves.

Greaves gives the unions in his territory a good deal of credit for his operation's success. He mentioned specifically the Steel Workers, the Upholsterers, the Teamsters, the Retail Clerks, the Meat Cutters, the Railway Carmen, and the Boilermakers.

The League is convinced it is on the right track with its heavy emphasis on on-the-job training. "The great thing about OJT is that you go on the job right away, are trained and earn money at the same time," said George James of the Washington League. "In some other kinds of projects, the person trains and then finds there's no job at the end. This casts a bad light on the credibility of a program. OJT is not as well funded as some training, but I think it's better because there's no problem about a job at the end. And what good is training without a job?" □

He Gives a Damn

By Marty Morgan

"The very last thing I ever expected them to do was to steal the car," John Marshall said as he took a fresh purchase on the cigar clamped in his teeth. "The police called about 8 o'clock in the evening to tell me they had found them in Arizona. I chartered a plane and the next morning a Juvenile Probation Officer and I went after them. I think they were surprised to see me."

Marshall's disappointment and chagrin were obvious. He had trusted the two youngsters and they had robbed him. But he has worked with troubled boys long enough to know you can't win all the battles, can't save all the boys, though he had saved more than his share.

At 32 John Marshall is a tall, dark, trim man with a warm sense of humor, a level penetrating gaze and a sensitive mouth which is filled, most of the time, with a cigar. Over the past 10 years Marshall, director of public and community relations for the Albuquerque Job Corps Center, has been bachelor father to five boys and volunteer probation officer and friend to a dozen others.

Born in Clovis, a small town in eastern New Mexico, he grew up in the free and easy environment of the Southwest. His father, a successful highway contractor, sold out and together they created Marshall Enterprises, Inc., and bought a radio and television station in Clovis. As news director and general manager, Marshall was in a position to assess local juvenile problems. He found that kids in trouble with the law were being processed through the impersonal and often interminable channels of the New Mexico district courts and he was instrumental in persuading the 10th Judicial District to organize a Juvenile Probation Office in Curry County.

When the first program for volunteer probation officers was inaugurated, Marshall was at the head of the line ready to involve himself in the tremendous workload.

Mrs. Morgan is a freelance writer.

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His mentor was a former State police officer, O'Dell Parrish, who became the first Curry County Juvenile Probation Officer.

Scarcely older at 22 than the boys he helped, Marshall became guardian for the first of his "brood" when he discovered how difficult it was to find foster homes for young and troubled teenagers. "When I took the first one, I thought that the kid was going to be grateful to me for all that I was about to do. That was before I found out the kids seem to take you for granted. Anyway, if they really care they generally don't let you know it. The real reward is in seeing them grow and finally make some sort of sense of their lives.

"When I brought the first boy into my home, my parents were concerned that I was spending too much time and money on him. But when I got him through high school it was a different story. Now they tend to spoil my boys. As a matter of fact, they take a certain pride in the boys and give them I don't know how much stuff at Christmas—more than I suspect is good for them. The truth is they help me a lot in what I do."

The first of the boys, Joe, had written a double handful of bad checks and the first thing Marshall did was to pay them off. Without telling Joe the debts had been satisfied, Marshall got him a job as a cameraman at the family-owned television station and stood firmly and quietly aside while Joe worked and paid back every merchant he had bilked. Since they already had been paid, the merchants turned the money over to Marshall. "That boy is now in banking and is on the east coast at a computer school of some kind. He hops around a little; doesn't know exactly what he wants to do, but he's going to be all right. He is married and has a couple of kids, one named John, incidentally, after me."

The second of Marshall's youngsters, Mac, "was my burglar. He just had a thing for cars; he loved cars inside and out. I never will forget. I brought him to Albuquerque to see the drag races one weekend. The first thing he did was to go right out and steal a transmission for his car. It took some doing but he turned out fine. He lives in Texas now and has a good job. I heard he was getting married last summer but I don't know for sure. I hear from Joe occasionally but very rarely from Mac."

Bob was the third addition to the family. He came to Marshall under slightly different circumstances than the previous two boys. He was troubled, but had never been in trouble. He lacked a home so Marshall took him in, gave him a job, and began the role of father for the third time.

In 1965, while seeking some type of resident program for young people, Marshall first heard of Job Corps and quickly became interested. His initial enthusiasm was fired by the head of the Girls Welfare Home in Albuquerque, and during a trip to Washington, D.C. he visited Job Corps headquarters and decided he wanted to work with the program. In 1966, when Teledyne Packard Bell landed the contract for the Albuquerque Job Corps Center, Marshall was hired as director of public and community relations, a position he still holds.

Marshall's new responsibilities necessitated a move to Albuquerque, so he and Bob packed up, came to the city, and moved into a 10 by 50 foot mobile home where Marshall still lives. Surrounded by grass and trees and sporting an ample covered patio, it is given over much of the time to teenage activities, including the maintenance and repair of racing motorcycles.

Bob enrolled in the neighborhood high school and graduated to become a cameraman with an Albuquerque television station. One of the paramount disappointments of Marshall's life was the boy's failure to actively participate in his own high school graduation ceremonies. "I told him over and over not to park in the faculty zone but he did and it wound up in a fist fight between him and the teacher. The upshot of the thing was they let him graduate but not walk across the stage and get his diploma.

"The problem with these troublesome kids is they make waves and the parents don't want them and the school authorities don't want them, either." Marshall feels the schools are unequipped, unqualified, and usually unwilling to help them. He says schools are geared, as they apparently must be, to the problems of learning, and the sympathies and talents of school personnel usually don't include the child with an emotional problem. "Perhaps an augmented guidance and counseling program will be the eventual answer," he says.

Marshall pays all the costs of raising the youngsters he takes in. He gets no funds from any government agency. He points out that the local welfare agency will pay people to take in children, but he prefers to work with youngsters who have been in trouble. "I really don't want a welfare child. It's not the same. Maybe part of it is the challenge."

Bart and Randy, the fourth and

Any handy piece of cloth, in this case Marshall's favorite handkerchief, is fair game when Bart cleans his motorcycle.

Photos by Dick Skrondahl

He Gives a Damn *continued*

Now a cameraman with an Albuquerque television station, Bob was the third member of Marshall's foster family.

Randy and Marshall renew their one of the family pets

fifth members of Marshall's foster family, are now in residence with him. He has permanent custody of one and is considering applying to gain permanent custody of the other. "As for their parents, if I'm simply their probation officer I think it's beneficial to talk to the parents. But if I have custody of them, then I don't want any parental involvement at all. I figure if they didn't want the boy in the first place then they should leave us alone to work the kinks out of his life the best way we can."

Bart is the apple of Marshall's eye. "I believe in this kid. I interviewed him just like I interview them all before I take them home to live with me. I told him what I expected. I am really a strong believer in education, and I said he'd have to go back to school. And the hair—I don't like long hair, either. Then there are responsibilities. I really thought Bart might not come. Of all the boys I've taken he seemed the most reluctant. He said he'd rather stay in the Detention Home than start back to school. You can't force them, its something they have to want to do. He thought about it while we were talking and then he decided he'd try it. He's been with me ever since."

Pride fills John Marshall's eyes when he talks about "his boys"—both those who have lived with him and those still in the Detention Home whom he works with on a more limited basis. "Some probation officers see their kids about once a month but I try to do things with mine. I see them two and sometimes three or four times a week. We go bowling or fishing or to the farm. My family owns a 1,300 acre farm over in Clovis and we go there some weekends. Kids don't care too much what you say, they just care what you do, so I try to do things with them. I want them to learn that there is more to life than running away and landing behind bars.

"They are smart kids; they know the ropes. In fact 90 percent of the troubled kids, I mean kids who get into trouble, are brilliant kids. They are generally smarter than the average high school youngster their age. It's just a matter of getting those energies channeled into some constructive activity."

Marshall tried marriage once, but it was a short-lived affair and he has concluded that marriage just is not everybody's bag. Nevertheless, he describes himself as "essentially a family man. I don't like to be alone. Things are made to be enjoyed with people you care about. We've only just come back from a trip to California. Randy and Bart had a ball and so did I. We fished and surfed and went to Disneyland several times. We made a special trip especially for Bart to Saddleback Park where they raced motorcycles, and he has had the T-shirt on ever since.

"I rented a car at the airport and since Bart has his driver's license I let him pick it out. Of course, we were a little crowded because he picked one with a little bit of car and a whole lot of motor. As a matter

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of fact, I broke my cigar! It was worth it though." His excitement comes through in his voice. "We even got to see the Goodyear Blimp three times while we were there.

"I feel it is important that the boys get to see some of the really great places in our country. So I've had Bart in Washintgon and Boston and California a couple of times. Randy had never flown before our recent trip to California and it was a real adventure for all of us to share his first flight with him.

"Bart has a motorcycle. I don't let him drive it off the place but I go with him to race it and he's really a darned good driver. I try not to buy them anything by way of a bribe although I suppose I have done it. I want them to have what they need and can use but I want them to learn the value of money. Bart has never abused anything I've ever given him.

"Its a real kick to do things for Randy. He's only been with us for a few weeks and he's always had so little. He and Bart get along well together and their relationship to each other is important. It's the whole give and take principle.

"I've never had to slap and never been slapped by any one of my boys. Not the ones that I have with me nor the ones I work with at the Detention Home. They seem instinctively to know you are trying to help."

The boys call Marshall Dad, even the ones he counsels and works with at the Detention Home. He goes out on the weekends and brings one or two of the youngsters home with him, which turns the place into a bit of a mad house, especially when the boys invite their friends in as well. "Trailers tend to shrink when it rains, but I've managed to learn to listen to the 10 o'clock news without ever hearing that miserable music the boys play all the time. You can hear it from one end of the house to the other but fortunately I can tune it out.

"This is home to us all and I want the boys to feel relaxed and welcome here. They don't have to ask when they want a soda, for instance, and we clean the place when we feel like it. Of course, I see to it that we feel like it once a week. I do most of the cooking.

"I also do the dish washing and the laundry. The boys don't like doing it and they frankly don't do it to suit me. Sometimes I have to yell at them a little if the trash doesn't get emptied or something like that. But our lives are largely smooth running and terrifically busy."

The two young men who stole the car were youngsters Marshall worked with at the Detention Home. He had asked them to spend the weekend with him, Bart, and Randy. He took them bowling and then back to the house for the night. In the morning, they were gone and so was one of the cars, the money from his wallet, and his credit cards. It was his first real taste of defeat. "I hope somebody can help the kid that engineered it all. I'm afraid it will take somebody who can give him more trust than I now can." Meanwhile, the court has appointed him probation officer for the other boy involved in the theft. Marshall has a penchant for never saying die, though on several occasions he has been driven to "damn!"

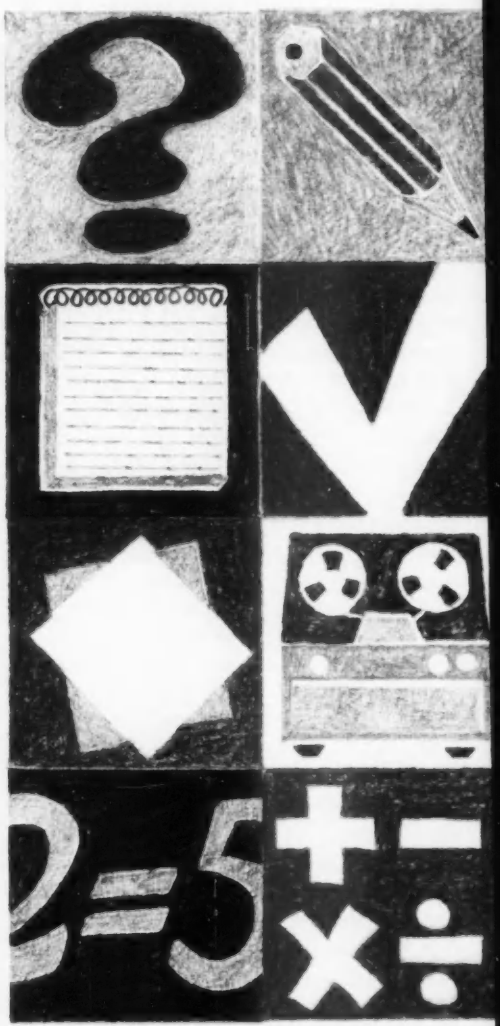
Alexander G. Schauss, a young probation officer with Bernalillo County, sees Marshall as one member of the establishment who puts his money and his activity where his mouth is. "There are plenty of volunteer probation officers who never really become involved," Schauss says. "There are a few who do, but there is only one John Marshall. He is really something else. He has an innate feeling for these boys; knows how to get the very best out of them. His approach is remarkably professional."

What compels a man like John Marshall—young, professionally and financially successful—to involve himself so completely in these troubled young lives? Is it that he heeds a distant drum or a clarion call inaudible to most of the rest of us? Marshall himself has a simpler explanation. It is, he says, "better than collecting things." □

AMERICA IS A NATION YOUNG AT HEART, AND THE NEEDS OF ITS YOUTH ARE AT THE CENTER OF ITS CONCERN. NOTHING CAN BE MORE IMPORTANT THAN MAKING THE COMING GENERATION THE GREAT GENERATION.

Richard Nixon
White House Conference on Children and Youth

PREPARING THE DISADVANTAGED FOR TESTS



By JOSEPH SEILER

One of the first lessons learned when manpower development programs got underway in earnest in 1963 was that disadvantaged persons usually perform poorly on employment tests. As a result, they were not admitted to training programs or hired for jobs.

Labor Department experimental and demonstration (E&D) manpower projects sought to determine why this was so and what to do about it. They found what is common knowledge today: Paper-and-pencil and other tests commonly used as vocational screening devices have built-in biases that severely limit performance of undereducated and culturally deprived individuals. The disadvantaged generally lack experience in taking tests and in exposure to the middle-class culture these tests reflect.

A number of E&D projects have been designed to explore the possibility of developing other methods for assessing the job potentials of the disadvantaged. Most projects, however, have recognized the substantial cost and time required to develop new assessment approaches, the slender chances of convincing employers and guidance personnel to drop or change their vocational appraisal instruments, and the great immediate need to enhance test-taking skills of the poor.

As a result, experimental work has been concentrated on finding ways to prepare hard-to-employ individuals for taking employment and related aptitude and intelligence tests. "Pretesting orientation" activities have identified difficulties encountered by the disadvantaged in taking tests and potential approaches for overcoming them.

Disadvantaged persons usually come to employers and employment agencies to get a job, not to be tested, counseled, or trained. The relatively high dropout rate during the first 2 weeks of manpower programs reflects their rejection of a variety of services which they do not feel help them get a job.

Many People Fear Tests

Their resistance to taking tests is seen in the high number who do not show up for scheduled tests. In one survey to find out why, some applicants said they thought that "taking a test" was like a medical exam which required undressing. One applicant, when told he would take a "test battery," associated it with having to know about electricity. In addition to such misunderstandings, applicants expressed their fear of failing the tests.

Fear of tests is not limited to any particular socioeconomic class, but is particularly severe among the disadvantaged. Not only do they lack experience with tests, their few past tries at testing have produced low scores which often have been used to deny them jobs or training opportunities. And too often their limited education makes it difficult for them to understand test content.

To overcome these disabilities, pretesting orientation for the disadvantaged should:

- Help them understand the need for testing and give them confidence in taking tests.
- Teach test-taking mechanics and procedures.
- Improve language skills and other abilities that will help overcome culture and education bias in tests.

The latter objective is clearly the most difficult to achieve and has been given the least attention. It does not lend itself to the fairly quick and easy solutions developed to achieve the other two. More importantly, it points to the paradox of building a person's attitude, confidence, and procedural know-how so he can take tests which themselves are not valid in

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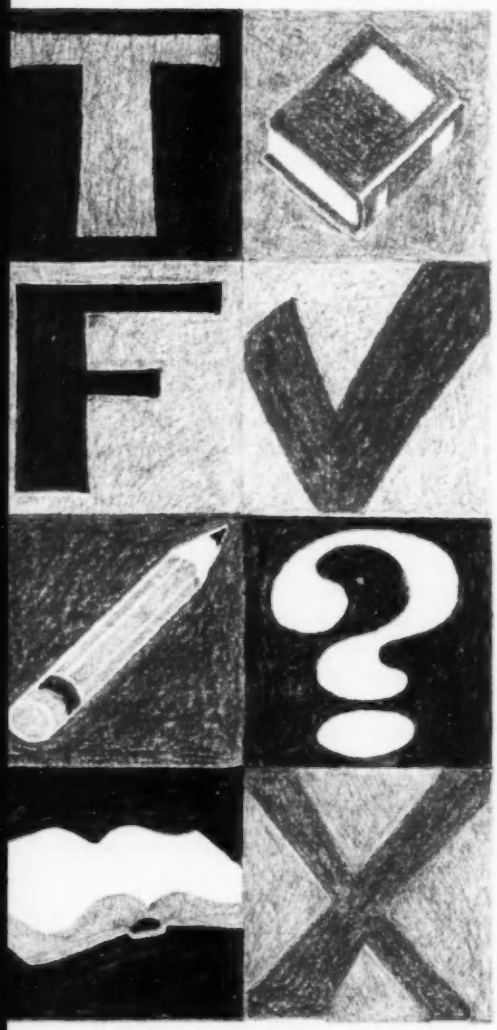


measuring true abilities for members of all ethnic groups. This paradox remaining, testing difficulties of the disadvantaged have been eased through a variety of E&D experiences with pretesting orientation.

The disadvantaged person must be prepared for formal tests by experiences which will motivate him to report and take them with minimum fear and suspicion about what they will reveal and how they will be used. To develop positive attitudes and confidence, E&D projects have found the following of value:

• Fully explain why the tests are given and how they can help. For example, when being considered for a training program, the applicant should be shown how test results help determine the assignments which can best use his valuable time.

Applicant and counselor should decide jointly on the use of testing for specific reasons—say for placement in the proper remedial education class. In addition, the counselor should assure the applicant that test scores will be kept confidential and that overall findings will be interpreted to him.

Letting the applicant have a look at sample tests is useful in showing him how specific tests have relevance to jobs. Later the significance of tests can be better perceived by the applicant when he learns, through visits to companies and discussions with employer representatives, about the specific jobs and employers which require the tests.

• Expose applicants to nonthreatening test settings. To bolster applicants' confidence, counselors should, in small group sessions, give practice test-taking without time limits, answer questions in a reassuring and approving manner, and explain errors. Also helpful is role playing, whereby applicants test each other to become familiar with tests and to understand better why they are required.

A project in California reported that informal exposure to tests combined with building confidence by constantly stressing the great success by past trainees has helped establish a "self-fulfilling prophecy." In 2½ years, only one trainee failed to pass the written and performance tests required to earn the Class I license for professional truck drivers.

If most applicants are from a particular ethnic group, it is desirable that persons explaining tests be members of the same group. This enhances rapport with the applicants and reduces their test anxiety and resistance.

After these preparations, applicants are ready to learn to improve their knowledge of test mechanics and procedures (assuming their basic literacy skills are at least fifth grade level). This has been accomplished by E&D projects in the following ways:

• Further practice in test-taking—Disadvantaged applicants should be given intensive drill. These practice tests should use items and instruction similar to those the applicants will face in formal testing. They should concentrate on instruction in marking answers on separate answer sheets, comprehension of various oral and written directions, and development of speed in working against time. The practice should be conducted in a nonthreatening atmosphere (as in the earlier sessions), and under standard testing conditions. If possible, these sessions should take place in the same room where formal testing usually occurs.

Sufficient drill should be conducted to permit complete familiarization with practice items. Ample time is needed for applicants to ask questions and receive full explanations, and to allow immediate checking and correction of practice answers. Use of various published materials on how to take tests and of discontinued test forms also may be helpful.

State employment service offices have found it helpful to give disadvantaged applicants 1½ hours of test-taking practice before giving them the GENERAL APTITUDE TEST BATTERY (GATB). Individuals vary in their degree of familiarity with GATB test content and in their ability to understand test-taking directions; exercises are designed to minimize the impact of these differences on test scores.

Brief Tutoring Helpful

Sample test exercises closely resemble their GATB counterparts for measuring numerical and verbal aptitude, spatial relations, clerical and form perception, and other aptitudes. The actual computerized GATB answer sheet is used in recording answers.

The test practice is supervised by an examiner but his presentation of pretesting orientation materials and instructions is purposely informal to aid in gaining good rapport. Also, the examiner gives the group, at the appropriate time, correct answers to all the questions. Applicants are allowed to check their own answer sheets and hold group discussions on any aspect of the test practice.

• Tutoring—A number of E&D projects have found it useful to tutor disadvantaged applicants briefly in various subjects (not to be confused with remedial education which will be discussed later). These short sessions enable applicants to "brush up" on academic and other abilities they have not used for some time. Tutoring usually involves practice exercises in arithmetic, spelling, grammar, and reading. Some tutoring centers around the logic, concepts, and principles underlying tests of verbal analogies, spatial relations, and abstract reasoning.

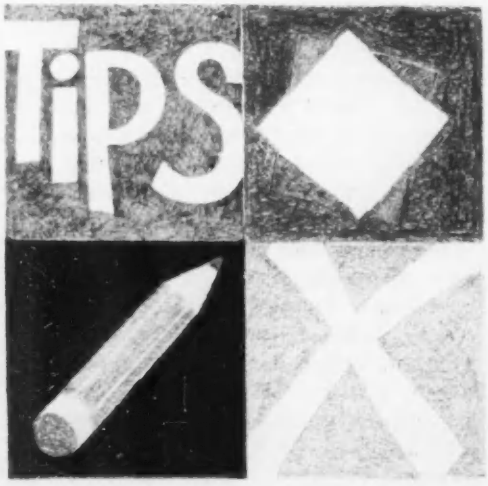
An E&D project in Washington, D.C., tutored trainees in spatial relations. It was found that their three dimensional conceptualization of two dimensional picture diagrams could be improved through the use of special paper and sheet metal objects which could be twisted and shaped to match the two-dimensional diagrams. Also, by using foldable transparencies with an overhead projector, trainees learned to perceive the relationship between sides and angles in three dimensional space.

Giving applicants "test-taking hints" also is a popular form of tutoring. An E&D project in Tennessee found it useful to give instructions on how to choose answers and when to guess on true-false, multiple - choice, and matching - answer type tests. Examinees had not previously been aware of differing test scoring rules and formulas, the advisability of answering the easier questions first, and finding correct answers by the process of elimination.

Service Rejects Aided

State employment service offices give applicants the brochure, "Doing Your Best on Aptitude Tests." It illustrates some rules for taking aptitude tests, and contains sample items found on such tests. Also, it presents test-taking hints in a concise colorful, handy form.

• Special curriculums — Some E&D projects have found useful a commercially marketed practice test package consisting of a sound tape used with a test workbook during a 30-minute teaching session. The tape recording presents test instructions and practice questions and, after applicants take the tests, reviews the answers. Also, there is a booklet of practice tests which trainees can take and score at home after completing the programed portion of the course. The tape and booklets cover five kinds of objective tests. The tests are designed for practice and familiarization only; no provision is made for interpreting scores.



One E&D project in North Carolina analyzed the questions and underlying principles of the Bennett Mechanical Comprehension Test and the Wonderlic Personnel Test, two very different instruments. For each test, a separate pretesting course was developed with special learning units given approximately 5 hours a week for 5 weeks.

The special course increased scores on the Bennett from an average of 18 before orientation to 55 afterwards, on the Wonderlic from 11 to 30. At initial testing only 2 of 26 trainees were able to score at the level required by employers, while all but 2 trainees made the grade after the pretesting orientation. The size of these gains may be suspect because the samples were small and the men had taken the same tests at the outset, but they point to the potential value of special instruction developed around specific types of knowledge required by particular tests.

• Extensive remedial education—This is essential for people with below fifth grade literacy levels if they are to take traditional highly verbal, timed paper-and-pencil tests. Comprehension of such tests usually requires at least sixth grade reading abilities. In addition, without such ability it is highly doubtful that examinees can develop adequate motivation and confidence, or can be instructed effectively in the mechanics of test-taking.

Several E&D projects have served young men 17 to 22 years of age, all of whom were Armed Forces volunteers rejected as unqualified for military service because of academic deficiencies. (See *From Reject to Recruit,* page 8.) The projects clearly demonstrated that through brief classroom training these youth could be upgraded to meet Armed Forces entrance requirements. Coach class training provided youth with special curricula similar to the types of subject content in the Armed Forces Enlistment Screening Test and Armed Forces Qualifications Test.

An E&D project in San Francisco showed that a comprehensive 1-year program could prepare highly disadvantaged jobseekers to pass the Civil Service examination for postal clerks and carriers. The program combined pretesting orientation with temporary employment, job related remedial education, and human relations training for job supervisors. Of the 513 who entered the program, 416 took the exam within a year after entrance and 263 passed; the average program cost per success was $235.

The 513 temporary employees were hired without being tested and without reference to educational qualifications. Their special status expired after 1 year, by which time they had to pass the regular Civil Service examination to remain employed. They attended class (without pay) 2 hours a day, 5 days a week. Average literacy level for the group at hire was less than sixth grade. Pretest orientation sessions used several published texts on how to pass the Postal Clerk-Carrier exam, as well as intensive practice in following test instructions, using answer sheets, and learning to work under time pressure.

Extended Effort Required

The San Francisco project demonstrated the value of temporary employment as a motivator for the disadvantaged to improve their academic and test-taking skills. This effort is no longer E&D but is now a regular activity of the manpower program in San Francisco.

E&D experiences across the country support the conclusion that pretesting orientation can enhance the ability of the disadvantaged in test-taking. However, the appropriate methods for, and scope of, such activity will vary depending on the character of the vocational test to be taken and the education and testing experience of the job applicant.

E&D work does not support the common notion that pretesting orientation is a one-shot hour-long activity focused on general test-taking considerations. Rather, it should be an extended experience in which the applicant must develop trust in those who are giving the test, and skills in the specific types of test directions, questions, and content he will ultimately face in formal testing. □

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News & Notes

Contracts have been awarded for the operation of three new residential manpower centers. AVCO Economic Systems Corporation has been awarded a $2 million contract to set up and operate the Job Corps Residential Manpower Center in Cincinnati. It is scheduled to open in the fall and will accommodate 200 young men, 150 of whom will live there. General Learning Corporation has been selected as the operating contractor for the new St. Louis Residential Manpower Center. The 2-year contract is for $3.3 million. Admission of the first enrollees is expected by late summer. NESCOA INNS, Inc., has been awarded a 2-year contract to set up and operate the new San Francisco Residential Support Center. First year costs will be about $178,000 and second year about $156,000, after most start-up expenses have been met. NESCOA INNS, a nonprofit California corporation, is a subsidiary of the National Educational Systems Corporation of America.

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The old Job Corps center near Ardmore, Okla., is being converted into a Rural Manpower Skill Center. The U.S. Department of Labor is investing $570,000 in the project to train 250 residents, mostly Negroes and Indians, in such occupations as heavy equipment operators, electronics assemblers, machine shop operators, clerks, and welders. After training, they will be placed in jobs with businesses in the area and at Ardmore's Air Force Base.

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Under an agreement with the U.S. Department of Labor, all 68 Metal Division plants and branches of Continental Can Company will hire through State employment security offices. This means about 3,000 new job orders a year for the employment service.

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Job hunting will be considerably easier for professionals under a new arrangement announced by the New York State Department of Labor's Division of Employment. A Professional Placement Network will provide jobseekers with immediate information on openings throughout the metropolitan area of New York City. A professional may visit any one of the three offices in the network—at Hicksville, White Plains, and Manhattan—and find out what is available in New York City, on Long Island, and in Westchester and Rockland Counties.

The exclusion of blacks and Puerto Ricans from housing in the suburbs has created labor shortages in new factories around New York City. Turnover among minorities is high because they find transportation so difficult. This was the conclusion of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, Inc., after a 1-year study. The committee is conducting a 2-year examination of the relationship between jobs and housing patterns. Its inquiry is funded by the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

* * *

Learn better English and you can get a better job. Acting on this truism, the Draper Correctional Center at Elmore, Ala., has developed a short curriculum for improving speaking and writing abilities of convicts. With only 4 weeks of intensive training, 21 inmates improved their spoken English by 37 percent. Furthermore, "their self-esteem rose and their command of written English improved significantly," the prison reports.

* * *

Sixteen companies have joined a program to help students from disadvantaged areas get through the University of Illinois. Each participating company sponsors an individual student and selects executives to work with him during his 4 years of college. Each company will contribute $1,500 to help finance a 10-week precollege program this summer. Each student will spend 8 weeks on campus and 2 with the company. Each subsequent summer until he graduates, the student will work for the firm that sponsors him. The companies hope to draw into the business community high school graduates who otherwise might not seek a business career. However, neither the company nor the student is committed to the other for employment after graduation.

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The United Auto Workers union will prepare 600 minority youth for apprenticeship in the the metal-working trades in 22 cities in seven States. The Labor Department is investing $547,421 in the 2-year contract. This marks the first time that an Apprenticeship Outreach program has stepped outside the construction field and focused specifically on the metal-working trades.

National apprenticeship standards for truck mechanics have been agreed to by the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAM) and the White Motor Corp. The U.S. Department of Labor has approved the standards. Candidates for the 4-year program must be 18 to 30 years old and have completed 2 years of high school. Apprentices will be chosen without regard to race, creed, sex, national origin, or irrelevant physical handicaps.

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Not all efforts to fight poverty require large cash outlays, according to Sar A. Levitan, George Washington University research professor of economics. His new Ford Foundation funded study, Programs in Aid of the Poor, lists several low-cost methods to improve the economic situation of the poor. Helping the impoverished to plan and control family size is one. Others include the elimination of discrimination, consumer education, organization of the poor, and minimum wage hikes. New Federal funds for poverty should be channeled into education, training, job creation, and housing, he said.

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In 2 years the Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS) Program "has opened the door to gainful employment for substantial numbers of disadvantaged workers," Secretary of Labor George P. Shultz said. He told the Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty that JOBS "has filled a major gap in our total manpower efforts." More than 432,000 disadvantaged persons have been hired. Nearly 53 percent of them are either still employed by the original firm or stayed on the original employer's payroll for at least 6 months.

Statistics

Training Programs

MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT

INSTITUTIONAL TRAINING

Number enrolled Aug. 1962—Mar. 1970	927,200
Number completing training Aug. 1962—Mar. 1970	600,700
Number employed Mar. 1970	447,500
Number enrolled in fiscal 1969	135,000
Number budgeted for fiscal 1970	98,000

ON-THE-JOB TRAINING

Number enrolled Aug. 1962—Mar. 1970	442,000
Number completing training Aug. 1962—Mar. 1970	304,100
Number employed Mar. 1970	262,100
Number enrolled in fiscal 1969	85,000
Number budgeted for fiscal 1970	65,000

PART-TIME AND OTHER TRAINING

Number budgeted for fiscal 1970	20,000

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT

NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS

Number enrolled Jan. 1965—Mar. 1970	2,336,000
Number enrolled in fiscal 1969	504,100
Number budgeted for fiscal 1970	423,500

OPERATION MAINSTREAM

Number enrolled Mar. 1967—Mar. 1970	44,800
Number enrolled in fiscal 1969	11,300
Number budgeted for fiscal 1970	12,200

PUBLIC SERVICE CAREERS

Number enrolled Mar. 1967—Mar. 1970	12,200
Number enrolled in fiscal 1969	3,800
Number budgeted for fiscal 1970	26,100

JOB OPPORTUNITIES IN THE BUSINESS SECTOR (JOBS)

Number enrolled June 1968—Mar. 1970	110,000
Number enrolled in fiscal 1969	51,200
Number budgeted for fiscal 1970	100,000

REGISTERED APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAMS

Number enrolled as of Jan. 1, 1970	240,000

CONCENTRATED EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

Number enrolled June 1967—Mar. 1970	267,400

WORK INCENTIVE PROGRAM

Number enrolled through Mar. 1970	145,310

JOB CORPS

Number enrolled Jan. 1965—Mar. 1970	277,800
Number enrolled in fiscal 1969	53,000
Number budgeted for fiscal 1970	48,200

FEAST Feeds Two Hungers

We may live without poetry,
music and art;
We may live without conscience,
and live without heart;
We may live without friends;
we may live without books;
But civilized man cannot live
without cooks.

—E. R. BULWER-LYTTON

Luncheon at Portland, Oregon's, Jefferson High School restaurant can be a rare bargain. Some days customers get a bowl of navy bean soup, two grilled pork chops, oven browned potatoes, fresh garden vegetables, bread, butter, and coffee for $1.35. The next day it might be a shrimp salad with lettuce and tomato, broiled chicken and giblet gravy, snowflake potatoes, garden vegetables, bread, butter, and coffee for $1.30.

Forty boys and girls enrolled at Jefferson are training as cooks, bakers, and other trades that make up the food service industry. The formal title of the program, which started last September, is FEAST, which stands for Food Education and Service Training. Students spend half their time in regular classes and half in skill training.

As an integral part of their training, these budding young culinary artists are trying out their wares where it counts, in the marketplace with real customers. And they are not doing badly.

During the peak month, last October, they served 1,027 guests plus 313 students, handled eight banquets, and took in a total of more than $1,400. All this was done in the inner-city school's new $100,000 restaurant. The OREGON JOURNAL called it "the only true commercial restaurant inside a high school anywhere in the United States."

FEAST was put together at Thomas Jefferson last summer by the school's vocational education staff, with the advice and aid of local restaurant managers and an interested architect. Three basement classrooms were converted into a modern dining room, a fully equipped kitchen, and a storeroom. The facilities and decor are comparable to that of a good commercial restaurant.

The curriculum was written by a team that included a chef, a school counselor, and three teachers—in home economics, English, and math. They completed this key task after attending a summer FEAST workshop held at San Francisco City College. (FEAST is growing fast on the west coast. It began at two schools in San Francisco in 1964 and now functions in 31 public high schools in the West. Each school funds and runs its own program. The team of instructors includes a full-time chef, a dining room supervisor from private industry, and teachers.)

FEAST
continued

Profits? There are none yet. The prices often are below costs and yet not low enough to attract a good deal of in-house trade. Students and faculty usually prefer the school cafeteria for a quick, inexpensive lunch. The T. J. room, as the restaurant is called, has as customers mostly businessmen in the neighborhood, visitors and, occasionally, the faculty.

There is also a comic side to the restaurant's red ink operation. The trainees are young and they like food, lots of it. They are entitled to a free noon meal and they take full advantage. Their supervisor, professional chef Lawrence Sanders, says he feels at times that more food is eaten than is prepared.

Another factor is the cost of laundry. The students like their attractive work garb—blue and gold uniforms for the waitresses, white outfits and tall white hats for chefs. And they want them immaculate. So whether they're on restaurant duty on a given day or in regular classes, they prefer checking out and wearing clean uniforms. The result has been a laundry bill that soared to $1,243 for the first 4½ months of operation, before it was brought under control.

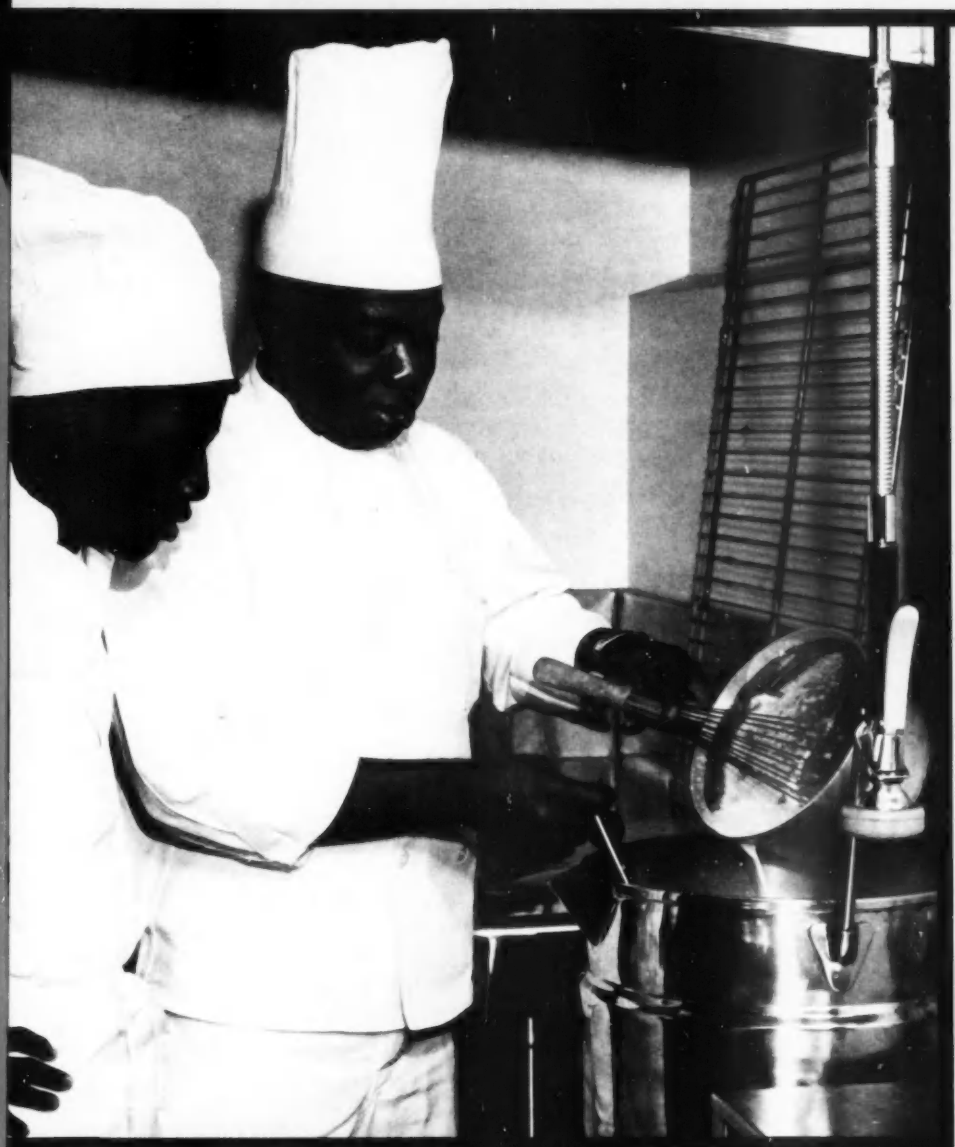
The students can be fiercely proud about their business. They prepared what they regard as a first class hamburger to attract student trade. Since the school athletic teams are known as the Jefferson Democrats, they named their masterpiece the Demo-burger. When the price of 60 cents was criticized as a bit high, student chef Floyd Hewitt retorted: "It costs that much. Our burgers are all real meat, no stuffing, and served on a baked bun with tomato, lettuce, and relish. You can't compare it to the hamburger stand product."

The purpose of the restaurant is not, of course, to make profits. The school set up this vocational program—and others in such trades as horticulture and paramedical occupations—to give students education they can absorb and training in a promising trade.

The job of education is a tough one. Jefferson students used to be predominantly middle class and largely college-oriented. Over the years the flight to the suburbs has transformed the student population into a low economic, mobile, and multiracial group. They are not interested in academics nearly so much as they are in jobs and financial security. Yet, they have little likelihood of getting what they want without basic math and reading skills.

The FEAST project permits the school to teach them these subjects in a non-academic way that does not "turn them off." They are willing to learn math now because they realize they need it to make accurate measurements in cooking, baking, and serving—and adding up customers' bills. They are learning English because they find it useful in promoting and advertising their business, via direct mail campaigns to neighborhood firms and announcements in store windows.

Consequently, while spending only half their time in class now (and the other half in the restaurant), they are learning more, because they want to. They are attending school more regularly than in former years. Of course, they have not



become scholars overnight. Janet Olson, business math teacher, commented she feels less than successful when "after 4½ months some class members can't remember how many cups in a quart, and checks with two items are added incorrectly." But she quickly adds: "Thinking back to the first month, there has been progress!"

And Lueen Miller, secretary of the FEAST team, recalls a recent morning when one of the boys was actually running down the hall to arrive on time to serve a 7 o'clock breakfast group. "Not many of our students run to class," she said.

Certainly the food and hospitality business is an expanding one. Growth is rapid as motels, schools, hospitals, and new restaurants spread across the country. In 1967, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, a total of 2,061,000 people—excluding general kitchen help—were in the business. They were classified as bartenders, cooks, counter and fountain workers, waiters, and waitresses. The total will grow to an estimated 2,638,000 by 1975, an increase of nearly 30 percent in 8 years.

Chef Sanders thinks several of his students have real potential. He names two of the 11th grade boys "I could place right now as fry-grill or broiler cooks for $2.80 an hour to start." And two of the 12th grade girls already are working after hours as waitresses, one at $1.70 an hour, the other at $2.14. Another young man has graduated from the T. J. room and earns $2.00 an hour as an assistant cook in a restaurant as part of his high school training.

All 40 are getting work-for-pay experience. Although preparing and serving lunch is done strictly for practice, the youngsters are paid 90 cents an hour plus tips and a free meal for preparing and serving group breakfasts and banquets. And over Thanksgiving and Christmas 15 of them had a special treat. They combined business and pleasure by spending their vacations at Mount Hood's famed Timberline Lodge. During business hours, they cooked, baked, and waited tables—for $1.25 an hour plus bus fare, room, and board—and in their spare time enjoyed the scenery and outdoor sports. □

Publications

Following is a list of publications on manpower and related matters. Single copies of publications for which no price is indicated (and some priced items) can be obtained free by writing or telephoning the Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. 20210. For publications not available free and for multiple copies of all priced items, write the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402, and enclose payment.

Publications of the U.S. Department of Labor

Eighty-four page listing, under subject headings, of all U.S. Department of Labor publications from 1964 to June 1969. Supplements are issued monthly. To get on mailing list, write Office of Information, Publications and Reports, Room 2329, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. 20210.

Selected Manpower Publications 1970 (Revised)

Flyer listing under subject headings recent publications issued by Manpower Administration.

Special Job Creation for Hard-to-Employ in Western Europe

Discusses special job creation in several Western European countries — primarily the Netherlands, Sweden, Great Britain, and West Germany—for two main groups of workers: Hard-to-employ primarily because of structural, regional, or seasonal factors which are intensified during recessions; and severely handicapped or unplaceable in existing labor markets for personal reasons, which may be reinforced by lack of skill or by age, location, or industry. 50 cents.

They're Ready to Work in Your Hospital

Booklet discusses training programs in various types of health occupations which are helping qualified Job Corps members find worthwhile jobs.

Disaster Unemployment Assistance

Leaflet explains Disaster Relief Act of 1969, who may qualify for aid under it, and how to apply for such help.

Unemployment Insurance—What It Is and How It Works

By answering 14 often-asked questions, this leaflet clearly explains what Unemployment Insurance is and how it works.

The Pre-Retirement Years

First report in a 5-year longitudinal study of labor market experience of four population groups: Men 45-59 years of age, women 30-44, and young men and women 14-24. Presents work history and 1966 employment status of national sample of men aged 45-59 and analyzes characteristics of these men and their environment which affect their employment experience. $2.25.

Career Thresholds

Second report under same 5-year study as above. Reports results of initial survey of men aged 14 to 24. $2.00.

Technician Manpower 1966-80

Bureau of Labor Statistics report gives up-to-date information on future manpower requirements for, and supply of, technicians to 1980 and supersedes the 1975 projections published in 1966. Should be helpful to vocational counselors, education planners, those responsible for national manpower policies and programs, and industry officials concerned with effective use of technical employees. 35 cents.

Youth Unemployment and Minimum Wages

Result of 1969 Bureau of Labor Statistics study of relationship between minimum wage levels and youth unemployment problem. Information was drawn from experience throughout the free world. $1.50.

Catalog of Publications—Bureau of Labor Statistics—January-June 1969

Annotated subject index of all publications issued by Bureau of Labor Statistics January through June 1969.

Digest of 50 Health and Insurance Plans for Salaried Employees — Early 1969

Bureau of Labor Statistics bulletin describing principal features of 50 selected health and insurance plans in effect in early 1969 covering salaried employees. The plans, with coverage ranging from 1,000 to several hundred thousand employees, illustrate the plans of a major employer in each industry. $1.25.

National Survey of Professional, Administrative, Technical, and Clerical Pay, June 1969

Summarizes results of Bureau of Labor Statistics annual salary survey of selected professional, administrative, technical, and clerical occupations in private industry. Covers establishments in broad spectrum of industries throughout U.S. except Alaska and Hawaii. Should be useful as guide for salary administration purposes and for general economic analysis. Provides information on pay in private industry in form suitable for use in appraising compensation of salaried employees in Federal civil service. 75 cents.

Indexes of Output Per Man-Hour, Selected Industries 1939 and 1947-68

Bureau of Labor Statistics bulletin updates industry indexes of output per man-hour, output per employee, and unit labor requirements for industries currently included in U.S. Government's productivity measurement program. Indexes for motor vehicles and equipment, gray iron foundries, and corrugated and solid fiber boxes industries are included for first time. $1.00. Separate report for Corrugated and Solid Fiber Boxes Industry, 1958-66, 35 cents.

The Social and Economic Status of Negroes in the United States, 1969

Prepared jointly by Bureau of the Census and Bureau of Labor Statistics, this report is the third in a series of statistical reports about social and economic condition of Negro population of U.S. Current data in tables show changes that have taken place in income, employment, education, housing, health, and other major aspects of life. $1.00.

Seniority in Promotion and Transfer Provisions — Major Collective Bargaining Agreements

Eleventh in series of studies by Bureau of Labor Statistics covering entire scope of collective bargaining agreement. Based on virtually all major collective bargaining agreements, covering 1,000 workers or more, exclusive of railroad, airline, and government agreements. Analyzes rules for promotions and transfers that have been developed within framework of collective bargaining. Describes methods employees may use to apply for openings, and criteria used to select from among those eligible. 75 cents.

Industry Wage Surveys

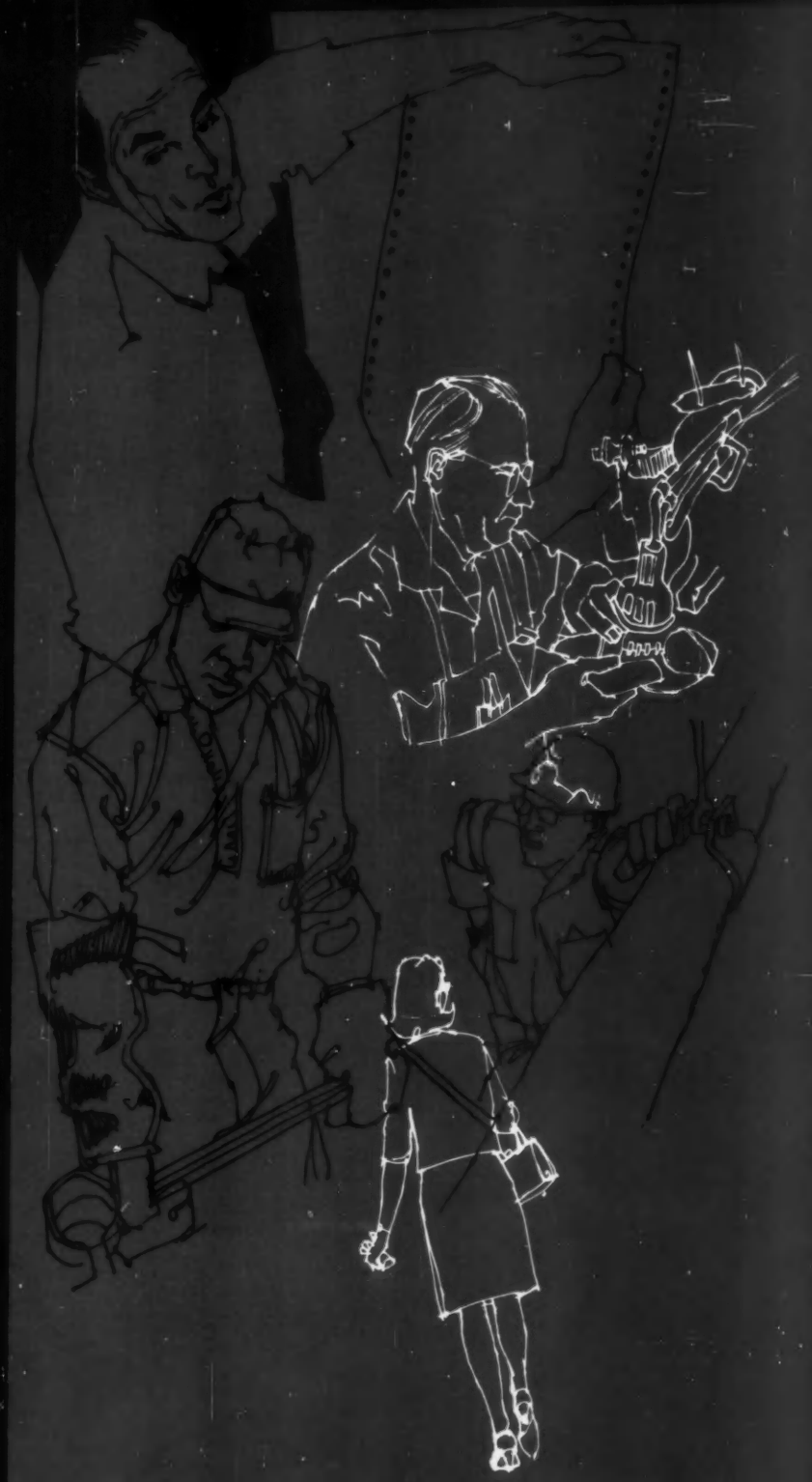
Summarize results of Bureau of Labor Statistics surveys of wages and supplementary benefits.

Men's and Boys' Shirts (Except Work Shirts) and Nightwear in October 1968. 65 cents.

Women's and Misses' Dresses in 12 areas in August 1968. 45 cents.

Area Wage Surveys—Selected Metropolitan Areas, 1968-69

Summarizes results of wage surveys conducted by Bureau of Labor Statistics in 88 metropolitan areas (in 42 States and District of Columbia) between July 1968 and June 1969. Gives occupational earning data for each area and information on establishment provisions for supplementary wage benefits for 45 of the areas. $1.00.



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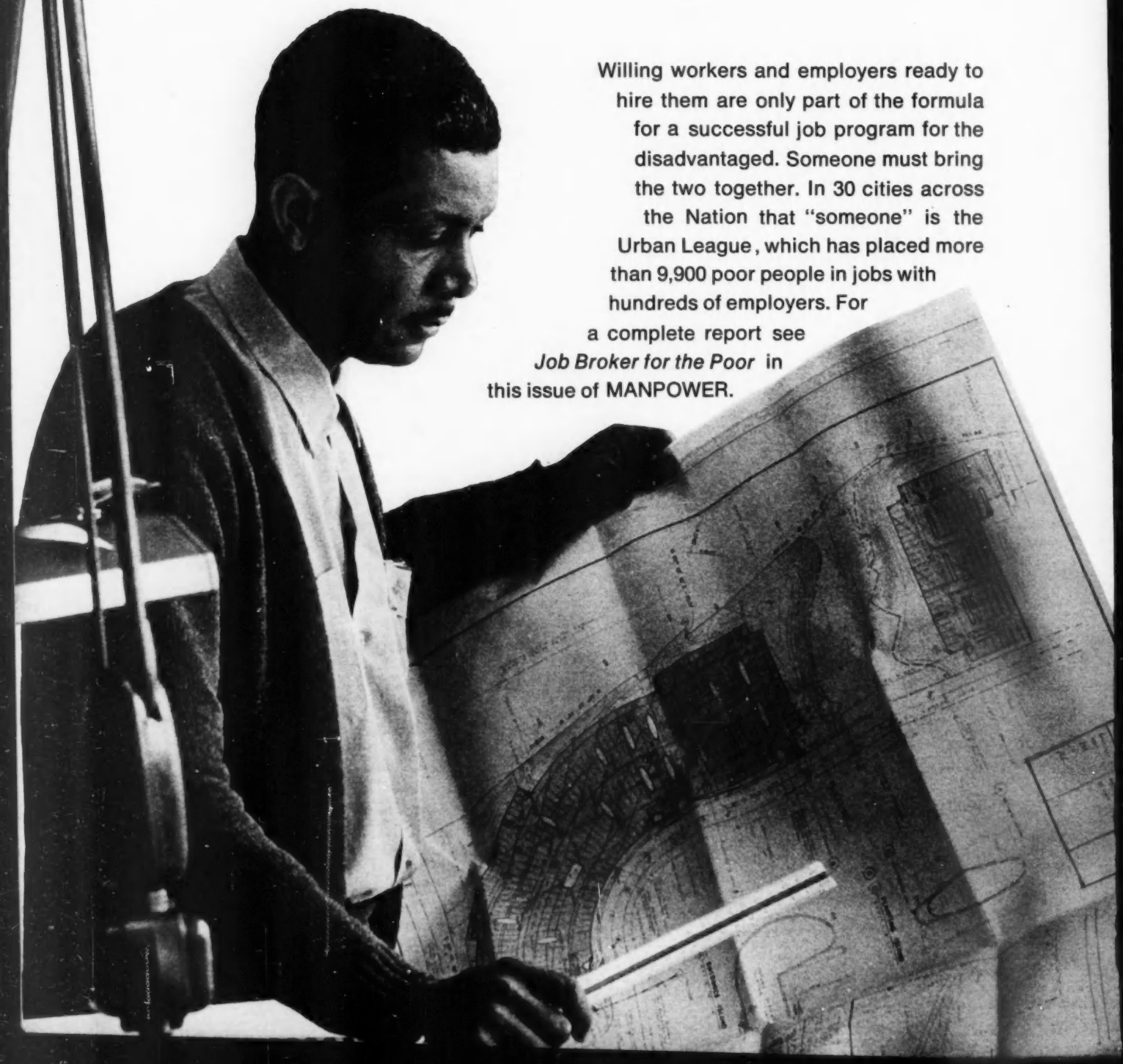

Willing workers and employers ready to hire them are only part of the formula for a successful job program for the disadvantaged. Someone must bring the two together. In 30 cities across the Nation that "someone" is the Urban League, which has placed more than 9,900 poor people in jobs with hundreds of employers. For a complete report see *Job Broker for the Poor* in this issue of MANPOWER.

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